

7/27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

DATE: 7/23/65

CINAL

Attached hereto for the Bureau are four copies and attached to each copy of this letter one copy of an informant's statement concerning sessions of a meeting of the National Board of the CP, USA held on 7/17-18/65.

This information was furnished by [redacted]  
who has furnished reliable information in the past on  
7/19-20/65 to SA [redacted]

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The original informant report is maintained in  
Chicago file A [redacted]

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EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING  
AND DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THIS  
HIGH PLACED INFORMANT.

- 4 - Bureau (Enclos. 4) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CINAL)  
3 - Baltimore (Encl. 3.) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100- ) (GEORGE MEYERS)  
(1 - 100- ) (SDS)  
1 - Boston (Encl. 1) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

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Copies continued on ii page.

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FBI - NEW YORK  
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6 - Cleveland (Encl. 6) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100- ) (PHIL BART)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)  
(1 - 100- ) (W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)  
(1 - 100- ) (CIRM)

3 - Detroit (Encl. 3) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

4 - Los Angeles (Encl. 4) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100- ) (DOROTHY HEALEY)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)

1 - Minneapolis (Encl. 1) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

1 - Newark (RM) (Encl. 1)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

1 - New Haven (Encl. 1) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

39 - New York (Encl. 39) (RM)  
(1 - 100-80641) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100-86624) (CP, USA - INTERNAL RELATIONS)  
(1 - 100-89590) (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)  
(1 - 100-80644) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)  
(1 - 100- ) (WORLD PEACE COUNCIL ASSEMBLY, HELSINKI, 7/65)  
(1 - 100-153735) (CIRM)  
(1 - 100-89691) (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)  
(1 - 100-84994) (GUS HALL)  
(1 - 100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER)  
(1 - 100-105078) (HY LUMER)

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39 - New York (continued)

(1 - 100- ) (CARL WINTER)  
(1 - 100- ) (GEORGE MORRIS)  
(1 - 100-27539) (HENRY WINSTON)  
(1 - 100-128255) (DAN RUBIN).  
(1 - 100- ) (HELEN WINTER)  
(1 - 100-40833) (IRVING POTASH)  
(1 - 100-26018) (LOU WEINSTOCK)  
(1 - 100- ) (ROBERT THOMPSON)  
(1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON)  
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)  
(1 - 100- )  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED] white, male, late [REDACTED] or early [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT TORMEY)  
(1 - 100-15946) (JAMES TORMEY)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (GIL GREEN)  
(1 - 100- ) (MIKE DAVIDOW)  
(1 - 100- ) (TED BASSETT)  
(1 - 100- ) (WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE, HELSINKI, FINLAND)  
(1 - 100- ) (SANE)  
(1 - 100- ) (CORE)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]

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3 - Philadelphia (Encl. 3) (RM)

(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED] female, Negro)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

1 - Pittsburgh (Encl. 1) (RM)

(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

1 - Portland (Encl. 1) (RM)

(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

1 - Washington Field (Encl. 1) (RM)

(1 - 100- ) (WOMEN FOR PEACE)

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- 9 - San Francisco (Encl. 9) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 100- ) (MICKEY LIMA)  
(1 - 100- ) (AL RICHMOND)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-52664) (DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)  
(1 - 100- ) (ARCHIE BROWN)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
- 1 - St. Louis (Encl. 1) (RM) b6  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION) b7C
- 1 - Seattle (Encl. 1) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)
- 14 - Chicago  
(1 - 100-18953) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)  
(1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
(1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)  
(1 - 100-20289) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-40903) (SDS)  
(1 - 100-18338) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)  
(1 - 100-41324) (CIRM)  
(1 - 100- ) (WORLD PEACE COUNCIL ASSEMBLY, HELSINKI, 7/65)  
(1 - 100-19491) (CP, USA - DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION MATTERS)  
(1 - 100-19431) (CP, USA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)  
(1 - 100-39136) (WOMEN FOR PEACE)  
(1 - 100- ) (INDUSTRIAL AREAS FOUNDATION) (p. 35)  
(1 - 100-32207) (CINAL)

Chicago, Illinois  
July 19, 1965

A meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party (CP), USA, was held at the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York, New York; starting the morning of July 16, 1965, and continuing on through July 17, and 18, 1965, and also was scheduled to continue on July 19, 1965. The general purpose of this meeting was announced by some of the members present was for preparation of material for pre-convention discussion.

The agenda announced for this meeting is as follows:

For July 16, 1965, a discussion of a proposed CP program for the United States with a report by GUS HALL. On July 17, 1965, a discussion of a draft statement on labor policy followed by discussion. Also on July 17, there was originally proposed a discussion of a draft statement on the struggle for Negro rights. Also on July 17, a sub-report by HERBERT APTHEKER on the recently held World Peace Council Assembly held in Helsinki, Finland, which APTHEKER attended; this was not to be followed by any discussion. Next a report by HY LUMER on the results and an evaluation of the recently

held youth school with no discussion. On July 18, 1965, a report by MICKEY LIMA from Northern California on the struggle against poverty followed by a discussion. On July 19, 1965, a report and discussion on the defense of the CP. Lastly, a summary and conclusions by GUS HALL also taking place on July 19, 1965.

The National Board as far as is known was present with the exception of CARL WINTER who was in Roumania, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT who had an engagement in Chicago and GEORGE MORRIS who also was on a trip. There were present several visitors invited to participate on particular points in the discussions. The attendance included the following:

GUS HALL

[REDACTED]  
HENRY WINSTON  
DAN RUBIN  
HELEN WINTER  
MORRIS CHILDS  
IRV POTASH  
LOU WEINSTOCK  
ROBERT THOMPSON  
WILLIAM PATTERSON  
JAMES JACKSON  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
AL RICHMOND

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[REDACTED] (A female Negro from Philadelphia)

[REDACTED] (white male in late [REDACTED] or [REDACTED])

BETTY GANNETT TORMEY  
JAMES TORMEY

JACK STACHEL  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
[redacted] (from Brooklyn)

[redacted]  
PHIL BART  
GIL GREEN  
MIKE DAVIDOW  
GEORGE MEYERS  
HERBERT APTHEKER (for part-time only)  
TED RASSETT (for part-time only)

[redacted]  
HY LUMER

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A report on labor was given on Saturday, July 17, 1965, by IRV POTASH. The Board had before it a rough draft outline of about three mimeographed pages listing questions dealing with the problem in the Labor Movement in the U.S. It was this document that had been passed out to the Board members on July 16, 1965, which was being discussed. POTASH opened the discussion with the following preliminary remarks:

He indicated that the Party needs a realistic estimate of the trends in the American Labor Movement. There are many stirrings such as wildcat strikes and longer strikes involving issues of wages, but more so job insecurity. There were major upsets. Some of the established unions such as IUE are still reflecting a deep dissatisfaction among the rank and file.

There have been some voices in labor raised against the policy of the U. S. in Viet Nam. However, these are few and far between. Many workers are complaining about the physical hardships on the job. There must be a differentiation by our Party as we examine the Labor Movement. It is not one homogeneous bloc.. There are certain basic differences among its leadership and its rank and file. There are also large areas of disagreement with estimates in the Party's Trade Union Commission and it is these differences POTASH wanted to discuss.

One of the differences that exists in the Party's Trade Union Commission is the assessment of why the Party should criticize the leadership of the Trade Union Movement. Some comrades speak only of the positive side of the Trade Union Movement. Others continuously speak of the negative. In POTASH's opinion there should be a critical approach, particularly toward MEANY and [redacted] for their stand on international questions. However, the criticism should not be leveled in such a way that it tends to feed the anti-labor anti-trade union attack that is currently taking place in the left. The Party should spend time in helping develop

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the left and rank and file movement. Some comrades in the Commission do not see the need for such form in the Trade Union Movement. POTASH, in his opinion, feels there is not only a possibility, but a necessity for independent forms in the Trade Union Movement. Some people in the Commission feel that the Party should move toward the mobilization of left centers in the Trade Union Movement. This too should be discussed. The Party must fight for organization of the unorganized as well as fight to repeal 14 B. The draft resolution going out to the Party for discussion should also have estimates of the ARCHIE BROWN victory in California and should also include a section dealing with socialism.

GUS HALL proposed that we have an information report from HERBERT APTHEKER who had attended the World Peace Congress in Helsinki before going into discussion of the above.

The reason for this interruption in the agenda was due to the fact that APTHEKER had to leave the meeting.

APTHEKER reported as follows:

The World Peace Conference opened in Helsinki, Finland, with approximately 14,060 delegates representing 98 countries. There were 27 African countries, 22 Asian countries and 25 European countries with a total delegation of 680. There were 20 countries of Latin America with a total of 152 delegates. One organization from West Berlin sent delegates. There were 125 from the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, 96 specifically from the U.S., 15 Ministers of State, 92 members of Parliament, 1200 male and 250 female.

The Congress, APTHEKER continued, was extremely successful. The opposition came from the Chinese delegation who were opposed to the holding of the Congress and fought against it being held. Their efforts were defeated. At the Congress itself, after the Chinese were defeated, they asked for special time to present their views. The U.S. asked for equal time and time was granted.

APTHEKER indicated that he was on a committee of five to write the speech for the American delegation and they worked long hours to prepare the speech. The Chinese gave their speech and it was not well received.

Dr. CARLETON GOODLETT delivered the speech for the American delegation and APTHEKER indicated that the reception was unequaled in any of his experiences in any conference or congress. The ovation lasted for a full 15 or 20 minutes with tremendous enthusiasm. The Chinese stood up, but did not applaud. The U.S. Delegation was perhaps the best delegation ever to attend an international conference. There were 22 from the Women's Strike forces, two Methodist Ministers, one Negro, CORE Chairmen from Los Angeles, two Quakers and members of SDS, the DuBois Club, and SANE.

Another struggle that took place at the Congress was the efforts by the Chinese to make it only a plenum rather than a working congress. They were defeated on this also and the conference was a working conference.

On the resolutions, the Chinese proposed that only one resolution come from the Congress and that it be a denunciation of American imperialism. However, they were defeated on this also and the North Vietnamese delegation proposed a resolution and it was passed.

Their resolution differed from the Chinese resolution in that it didn't have all of the blood and guts in it. There was also a resolution proposed on the peace question in general. This resolution was passed unanimously. The resolution proposed by the North Vietnamese delegation passed in the U.S. delegation with 59 yes; 9 no; and 6 abstentions. 22 Women Strike For Peace Corps delegates from the U.S. delegation drafted a statement calling for a return to the Geneva agreement.

There was warm feeling by the entire Congress toward the U.S. delegation.

APTHEKER closed by indicating that his experience was that the American Party must be more represented at these congresses. He indicated that our action can be decisive particularly around certain of these ideological questions. APTHEKER indicated that the leader of the American delegation, Dr. CARLETON GOODLETT, did not vote for the resolution of the Vietnamese. He did accept the responsibility of reading the speech the American delegation wrote, but he abstained in voting for the other resolutions

APTHEKER explained it that GOODLETT has certain ties in Washington and that he felt it may be putting him too far on the left; however, when GOODLETT discussed leaving the peace congress because it was too left, APTHEKER indicated from discussion he was convinced not to withdraw and he did not.

There were several other disruptive elements to the Conference other than the Chinese. One was from Albania and some guy who claimed to be an American who sat in on the American delegation and played a very disruptive role, but in spite of all the difficulties a tremendous conference was held and a very enthusiastic delegation attended from the U.S.

They then went back to the discussion of the labor policy statement. The first speaker was LOUIS WEINSTOCK.

WEINSTOCK indicated he was reluctant to speak because he had not been in activity for a long time because of his health. He also indicated that he would not be available and in a way was saying goodbye to the comrades. He then indicated that he had one or

two questions about the draft statement and the main one he presented was the statement as to the demand to outlaw JIM CROW locals in the trade union movement. He spent time with the resolution to discuss international solidarity with particular reference to the WFPU.

He also discussed his opinion of the necessity for a friendly, but critical approach to the Trade Union leadership and also he indicated that the resolution should highlight the victory of ARCHIE BROWN against the LANDRUM-GRIFFIN Deal.

The next speaker was GIL GREEN.

GREEN indicated that the resolution should begin by restating some basic theological propositions. These propositions emphasize the role of the working class as the new class that can transform society. The Trade Union Movement must be viewed as the most important organization in the U.S. No change will be possible without the Trade Union playing the leading role, therefore, it becomes a more important task for our Party. The Labor Movement is not playing that role today. It is not a unified organization and it is

not necessarily synonymous with the working class. The Party approach should include: 1. That our Party fight for the building and strengthening of the unions. 2. We fight against any split in the labor movement, either through corruption, bribery or racism. 3. That we must recognize that we are fighting in a country that has the strongest imperialist power and that we must fight to have the Trade Unions struggle against this imperialism. We should also understand that objective conditions alone will not lead to class consciousness. This is true because there has been a change in the composition of the American working class and this change requires more ideological understanding by the Party. There will not be any change in the Labor Movement unless it is stimulated by rank and file movement. We must bring forth class policies with clarity. As an example the Party should undertake to write a pamphlet dealing with the rights of the mine workers union and through such a pamphlet draw lesson for the Labor Movement. We must examine specific industries from the viewpoint of concentration and establish new Party bases especially

among Negro and Puerto Rican youth. There must be the closest coordination between the Trade Unions and the community. As far as organization is concerned the Party must be more detailed on tactics and forms. They must fight for the rank and file to participate in their union and we must develop a program for the left in the Trade Union Movement. The resolution must help to mobilize the Party for Trade Union work.

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[redacted] was the next speaker.

[redacted] emphasized the necessity for the left in the Trade Union Movement. The main weakness is the ideological barrier to build Trade Union unity. We must fight against the craft ideology and try to mobilize the unions to fight on Section 14B. [redacted]

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[redacted] emphasized questions on the war on poverty, minimum wage and political action movement as they affect labor.

GEORGE MEYERS was the next speaker.

MEYERS indicated that more discussion is needed on the extent of the Labor Movement. Then MEYERS went through several trade union publications, reading excerpts from articles to indicate the tremendous stirrings.

taking place in the Trade Union Movement on both economic and political questions and spent most of his time reading this material to the Board.

PHIL BART was the next speaker.

BART indicated the necessity for building rank and file movement with emphasis on the struggle around jobs and particularly jobs for youth.

IRVING was the next speaker.

He said the resolution needs more ideological material on the role of the working class. As far as the criticism of the Trade Union leadership is concerned we must criticize them like we would members of our own family. Some of those that demand that we conduct our work outside Trade Union Movement reflect lack of knowledge on what goes on inside Trade Unions. Our people are much too critical of the movement. The resolution should demand that there be some fight for control on automation. We should emphasize the shorter work week and have a special section in the resolution dealing with the Negro-Labor alliance.

GUS HALL was the next speaker:

HALL indicated that one of the reasons why this resolution is presenting difficulty is because the Party has shown the least amount of progress in this field. The role of the Party to the working class is in question. So far it has not been good. We seem to have the posture of critics and know-it-alls. GEORGE MORRIS' articles in "The Worker" reflect the worst criticism of the Movement. There is much attack on the Movement from the left and our Party has not sufficiently answered these attacks. We have to take positive action on the Labor Movement in spite of its weaknesses as it has played a decisive role in many significant activities in this country. Some comrades stated that Negro workers only react as Negroes regardless of their position in the Labor Movement. This is entirely wrong and has the seeds of being downgrading to both the Labor Movement and the Negro Movement. HALL indicated that he agreed that an ideological struggle was needed but that he feels very strongly that this is based on a criticism of the Labor Movement that will help seed the anti-labor material being sent out by the left.

HALL indicated that some slogans like "Mis... Leaders of Labor", "Trade Union Leadership Betrayal" do not help clarify the position of the Trade Union leadership in this country and we should fight against this. We must fight against a blanket indictment of corrupt labor leaders. The historical role of the working class becomes only a phrase unless we day-to-day fight for this Labor Movement. There is too little in "The Worker" dealing with the struggles of the working class and Labor Movement and all we have is GEORGE MORRIS' column which is bad. HALL indicated that he had doubts about the Trade Union Movement and political action, but would discuss it later. HALL indicated that he agreed that objective conditions alone do not create class consciousness. The challenge, however, is for the Party to bring clarity to the Trade Union Movement and the people, in spite of the changes in the working class, still be, by virtue of their position, the leading class in the country. There was a back and forth debate GIL GREEN and GUS HALL dealing with the concept of the changes in the working class and its effect on class consciousness and it was not resolved at that meeting.

HY LUMER was the next speaker.

LUMER indicated that the attitude toward the Labor Movement by much of the left press has been negative and the Party has the responsibility for correction of this error. On the outline that was presented, LUMER indicated the proposals for Government to control automation need further examination because it is not clear just what type of automation is meant. There are many forms that automation takes and we must not do anything to cause splits among the workers. We must supply answers to the changes that are effecting the entire working class. Even those workers who are receiving high wages feel the tension of insecurity. We must criticize what is being said by people like MEANY and [redacted] in the Labor Movement. The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) has a new National Chairman who is [redacted] from California and the fact that [redacted] of the U.S. Steel Workers was present at the meeting was a factor in electing [redacted] over a more conservative candidate.

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ARNOLD JOHNSON was the next speaker.

JOHNSON indicated that the Party should try and emphasize one major question that will make a change in the Labor Movement and that is proposition 14 B. JOHNSON went on to explain why such a campaign for 14 B could push the Labor Movement forward.

DOROTHY HEALEY was the next speaker.

HEALEY stated the basic questions should be taken for granted when you are discussing the National Board of the Party. She indicated her dissatisfaction that some comrades lecture others on the role of the working class. That is not the problem. The problem is what tactics are developing that will push the Party in a more positive posture among the working class and HEALEY indicated that she challenges anyone who has a better theoretical approach as opposed to those who are supposed to have no theoretical approach. HEALEY explained that she felt that the predominant motivation of Negro workers in the Trade Union Movement was their reaction as Negroes. She further indicated that the criticism of

the leadership must be more effective as well as presented so as not to be construed as anti-labor. Another question the resolution does not touch on and it needs to, is the question of imported labor and its relationship to the American Labor Movement and the legislation on women's rights. HEALEY also discussed forms of organization for the Party and in her opinion the Party workers in shops must be related to the community.

BOB THOMPSON was the next speaker.

THOMPSON expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the resolution did not hold with what he considered the most essential problem and that is the fact that the American Labor Movement is confronted with an Imperialist monopoly-controlled government that is bent on a war program. If this is not the theme upon which our tactics and objectives are based we will not serve any purpose with this resolution and he felt it should be completely rewritten. Two other problems he discussed for the resolution to emphasize are the organization of the unorganized and major political action.

[redacted] was the next speaker.

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[redacted] indicated that a special session on the Negro-Labor Alliance should be added. In his opinion a Negro trade unionist played both roles in the community. He speaks as a trade unionist and in his trade union he may speak as a Negro. Such is interchangeable and it cannot be otherwise. Some of the approaches we take in the Party to Negro-white communities seem to flop rather than build because we are looking for shortcuts.

AL RICHMOND was the next speaker.

He indicated his agreement with THOMPSON and emphasized the necessity for struggle with the policies of [redacted]

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[redacted] was the next speaker.

The resolution does not deal sufficiently with the question of public works as it relates to the youth problem and a program around this question should be included.

[redacted] was the next speaker.

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[redacted] stated that the Trade Union Movement needs more elaboration in the resolution. The Trade Union youth are not put into the Trade Union Movement and the Party should have an opinion on that question.

JIM JACKSON was the next speaker.

JACKSON indicated that a great deal of change has taken place from the time that [redacted] told [redacted] in San Francisco that he did not speak for the Negro people up to the most recent period when [redacted] called for the abolition of JIM CROW tactics in all the trade unions. JACKSON made the point that pressure can change even the worst bureaucrat and our emphasis must be put on building rank and file movement. JACKSON indicated that there is an ideology of anti-idealism that permeates both the labor and the Negro peoples movements. This substantially tries to prevent the workers from grasping any idea of their strength and their ability to develop an independent movement for their liberation.

IRVING POTASH summarized.

POTASH's summary indicates that there was a decision in the Trade Union Committee that the resolution would have three main positions:

1. The resistance to the war program of  
the Administration.

2. The organization of the unorganized.

3. the role of the Party.

POTASH then indicated that the resolution  
needed much more work and the discussion indicates  
areas of disagreement and he then agreed with [redacted]  
position on the conclusion that the working class  
composition has changed in this country. There were  
several statements back and forth between POTASH and

[redacted] and [redacted] got hot. However, the point was  
closed by the Chairman after [redacted] spoke. They pro-  
posed that the resolution be sent back to the Trade  
Union Committee and a document come out taking the  
discussion into consideration and it be rediscussed  
in the Board before being given to the Party. The  
group agreed upon this.

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HENRY WINSTON announced that the resolution  
on the Negro question would be withdrawn from that  
meeting and would be referred to the Secretariat who  
would propose a procedure as to how the discussion would  
take place. This was agreed on by the Board.

At a luncheon meeting prior to the closing of the debate on the labor resolution, HENRY WINSTON, JIM JACKSON, [REDACTED] EARL DURHAM and GEORGE MEYERS met to decide how to handle the resolution on the Negro question. It was agreed on that there would be a meeting of that body that was established at the Negro Commission meeting who had the responsibility for preparing the resolution in Chicago on August 7 or 8, 1965. This committee would be composed of the following:

HENRY WINSTON  
JIM JACKSON

[REDACTED]  
EARL DURHAM  
GEORGE MEYERS

This was agreed on because time would not permit an adequate discussion and the resolution that was before the Board was totally inadequate.

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Saturday evening, July 17, 1965, was spent in a reception at the Woodstock Hotel for HENRY WINSTON and [redacted] who announced their engagement. This was attended by all people who attended the Board meeting and their wives and husbands. A few more people such as [redacted] Mr. and Mrs. BASSETT, [redacted]  
[redacted] and others also attended.

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At the reception a collection was taken up for the engaged couple and there were speeches and a social atmosphere.

The Sunday, July 18, 1965, meeting opened at the Liberty Suite of the Park Sheraton Hotel. The meeting was chaired by [redacted]

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The proposed agenda for this meeting was an information report on the school that was recently held for the youth and a discussion of the war on poverty with a report by MICKEY LIMA following the discussion. It was proposed that these be the only two points and on Monday the meeting would end with a report on Party defense and organizational proposals for the convention.

HY LUMER reported as follows:

The school recently held for the youth was perhaps the most successful enterprise conducted by the Party in many a year. They went far beyond expectation. There were approximately 75 students. It was the first time the Party had attempted such a mass educational effort. The school had certain weaknesses which LUMER indicated he would mention after the report. The school created a sense of confidence among the participants and the participants came to the school with many diverse opinions as to the necessity or the ability of the Party leadership to play a role in American political life. It was LUMER's opinion that the school dispelled all doubt and gave the participants a feeling of solidarity and identification with Marxism-Leninism. LUMER indicated that it was interesting what was printed in the press about the school as well as what was not printed. LUMER indicated a reporter from the "New York Times" interviewed the leadership of the school, but did not find it important enough to print. Other sources that printed material tried to give the impression that the school was a failure. However, it was obvious to even

the reporters that got the information that something new was being added to the Party and that there was not acceptance of the characterization by the articles appearing in the press which depict the Party as a "dead fuddy duddy organization."

Many of the students developed insight into theory and the material basis for the CP. It was a tremendous organizational undertaking by the Party. It involved some 17 Party leaders to teach. They divided the students into categories, some more advanced, some which only discussed civil rights activity and some who discussed mass policy. During the evaluation held by the participants the participants indicated that the Party should have stated that they were going to have an elementary school and an advanced school because that in effect was what it was.

The curriculum was prepared by the Youth Commission and included basic Marxism-Leninism as well as current evaluation of political events. There was a series of five lectures that were delivered to plenary sessions of the school. They were as follows:

Socialism led by JIM JACKSON

Leftism and Trotskyism led by HY LUMER

Communism and Ethics led by GUS HALL

The American Trade Union Movement led by CARL WINTER

The History of the CP, USA led by JACK STACHEL

LUMER indicated that the lectures by HALL and STACHEL were the highlights of the school and were very well received. LUMER also indicated that there was a request that HALL's lecture be reproduced for mass circulation. The discipline of the students was outstanding. It was obvious that they were a serious group and would not tolerate among fellow students any goldbricking.

LUMER indicated the following weaknesses in the school:

1. The Party got a late start in organizing this effort. There seems to have been a breakdown in communications between the District and the Center and as a result some goofup took place.

2. LUMER indicated he only got involved about six weeks before the opening. That meant that outlines and curriculum and the organization of the teachers reflected a hurry-up job.

3. The organizational details of the school tied up too many of those who should have been preparing curriculum and other presentations.

The composition of the students was as follows:

Southern California - 9

Northern California - 11

Oregon - 4

Washington State - 3

Minnesota - 2

Michigan - 4

Illinois - 3

Missouri - 3

West Pennsylvania - 1

Connecticut - 3

Massachusetts - 4

New York - 18

Philadelphia - 7

New Jersey - 12

12 others also attended from places unknown.

LUMER indicated that it was obvious that there was a weakness in the mobilization from the Midwest. This responsibility rests on the District leadership as well as a breakdown in communications and misunderstanding as to the character of the school. Another major weakness was in the fact only six Negroes were present. Another weakness was that predominantly all were students. As far as weakness in content, the participants indicated it should have included more theory and flowing from that the relationship of theory to practice. In the future it will be important to include work shops as part of the school. All material should be prepared in advance to allow for advanced reading. Any future preparations for such a school should be started at least six months before the opening. To follow up the school LUMER suggested that local schools be developed in some districts and that the Party develop a teacher training institute. LUMER also suggested that some of the lectures be put in pamphlet form, that the outlines developed at the school be made available to

the District and somewhere, somehow, someone or some group begin work on an elementary textbook on Marxism in America and lastly the reorganization of the educational apparatus so that it may be strengthened in every district.

GUS HALL asked PHIL BART to give a little report of youth activity in Cleveland because, in his opinion, it is the fruit of the school.

PHIL BART then spoke indicating that two of the young people who had attended the school came to Cleveland to work on the Summer Project of the DuBois Clubs. BART indicated that the Party leadership in Cleveland is working under an atmosphere of fear and is developing a mentality that nothing can be done. These two young people are showing just the opposite. They are working to establish a DuBois club in the Cleveland area. Prior to their coming in a young man from the DuBois Club had been to Cleveland and had met with practically every progressive person in the area in order to avoid conflict and to discuss joint activity. These two young people who came in for the Summer Project are from California. They immediately

established contact with young people by going to a coffee house known as the Well which is sponsored by some religious organization. They made several contacts in this area and with the help of the Party opened up a center in the Negro community of Cleveland. Then they decided to hold a reception. The Party in Cleveland has one Negro member.

DuBois Club people made contact with some Negro youth and decided that they would have to have at least one Negro youth working full time during the summer if they were to be successful. So they kicked in part of their subsistence salary and with the help of the Party they have put this Negro youth on full time. They then called a reception and social affair in the center and approximately 70 young people, Negro and white, attended. This was beyond the fondest hope of any of the Party leadership and with this they hoped to establish a permanent DuBois Club and leave a native leadership at the end of the summer. There was no discussion of BART's remarks.

MICKEY LIMA gave a report on the question of poverty.

LIMA began by discussing the recently published book by HY LUMER which he said was invaluable in an understanding of the questions of poverty. LIMA indicated that there exists an explosive situation in urban areas. The poorest groups can be moved into political activity. The minority groups as well as the white working class groups must be involved and the Party must strengthen its work in the fight for the needs of the poor. LIMA indicated that his report would not deal with the poverty in the countryside, but indicated the Party must examine this question because it was of a remote serious nature. LIMA then gave statistics from various state sources in California indicating the status of the war on poverty and the status of the poor in that state. He dealt with statistics around housing, health and welfare. He spent time on the problems of urban renewal and the problems of retired workers. He indicated the state of California has a 25% high school dropout rate and among youth in general, one out of five are unemployed, but in the ghetto

50% of the working youth are unemployed. LIMA indicated the Party had participated in at least four efforts to develop anti-poverty movements. The first was the Labor Committee for Full Employment. This was not initiated by the Party, but rather the Trade Union Movement of Northern California. It had reached at its peak some 5,000 members. It began losing its status in the community when it began to put pressure on the Trade Union Movement to become more active in the problems of the unemployed. It also suffered because certain elements from progressive labor and Trotskyite groups began voicing their leftist ideas in the organization. At present the organization is disbanded. The second organization is the Housing Committee in San Francisco. This committee came into being as a result of the last ARCHIE BROWN election campaign. This committee's program included a fight against the urban renewal program of San Francisco. It is centered in the area where ARCHIE BROWN got 25% of the vote. This committee is still functioning and still in the struggle. The third organization

is the Welfare Rights Organization composed mainly of ADC recipients. It has approximately 400 families involved. The fourth organization is the Oakland DuBois Club with a membership of about 30. They do both service and struggle around the problems of jobs. The fifth organization is Youth for Jobs which has been in existence for about two years. This one is not so stable. It was initiated by the Party and did well until the last year. They have overextended themselves with a headquarters that financially is draining them. They also took on too much responsibility in the unemployment field and do not solely concentrate on youth. They recently held a benefit which was given by [redacted] and they raised a little money, but still they had problems in stability. The next committee is the Ad Hoc Committee. This committee was mainly composed of students and it is the body that conducted struggles for jobs for Negro youth at the "Oakland Tribune", the car sales offices and the hotel restaurants in the Bay area. They were successful in their efforts

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and perhaps won more victories than any other group. They are at present disbanded because they were an Ad Hoc Committee and they felt they had accomplished their goal by acquainting the state and city with their problems.

LIMA then indicated that the war on poverty from the JOHNSON administration is totally inadequate and does not meet the needs.

In concluding LIMA indicated that he felt that a permanent form of organization can come to service on the problem of the poor. He indicated the necessity for a program for senior citizens, more attention to trade union forms for unemployed and the necessity for continuous dramatic action. He further proposed that the Party develop a program to answer the crisis in the major cities. On this question he closed by indicating there was in existence Party people in all of these movements to make contacts to build the Party. In his opinion the doors were open and there is need for a specific plan for building.

EARL DURHAM spoke on two questions. One, he agreed with the main position of LIMA in his report and indicated that such report is to be a regular feature of the Party work. The Party is supposed to be the Party of the poor which means most of its activity must be in defense of the poor. DURHAM indicated that one feature of the organization of the Working Class Committee is being taken by the Industrial Areas Foundation. This is the organization that founded PWO in Chicago. They began organization by bringing together the already accepted leaders of the community and developing struggles around all of the immediate needs of the community. As a result they build and consolidate organization in the community which later comes under the control of the leadership of the IAF and, therefore, all future struggles are determined by its leadership and no longer is it reflective of the community. The only criticism DURHAM had of LIMA's report was its failure to evaluate more seriously the war on poverty from the administration's point of view. DURHAM indicated that this economic

EARL DURHAM spoke on two questions. One, he agreed with the main position of LIMA in his report and indicated that such report is to be a regular feature of the Party work. The Party is supposed to be the Party of the poor which means most of its activity must be in defense of the poor. DURHAM indicated that one feature of the organization of the Working Class Committee is being taken by the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF). This is the organization that founded The Woodlawn Organization(TWO) in Chicago. They began organization by bringing together the already accepted leaders of the community and developing struggles around all of the immediate needs of the community. As a result they build and consolidate organization in the community which later comes under the control of the leadership of the IAF and, therefore, all future struggles are determined by its leadership and no longer is it reflective of the community. The only criticism DURHAM had of LIMA's report was its failure to evaluate more seriously the war on poverty from the administration's point of view. DURHAM indicated that this economic

opportunity affords opportunity to develop frontals in various working class communities to change the character of that program from its inadequacies to a program that will meet the needs of the men. Ways can be found to take advantage of two aspects of the act.

1. All community committees dispensing the funds for the war on poverty are required to have representatives of the poor on them and the struggle must be put up in every instance.

2. Legitimate committees dealing with one or another aspect of the war on poverty can apply their money to carry out their program.

Lastly DURHAM indicated in Chicago the war on poverty funds are being used to bolster the political machine, therefore, it is of utmost importance that the working class and the people in the community be involved with this administration.

GEORGE MEYERS was the next speaker.

MEYERS indicated that the Party does not have any experience in Baltimore on initiating anti-poverty programs. The SDS in Baltimore is lead by, what MEYERS characterized as, a lunatic fringe and has

done more harm than good in their program. MEYERS indicated that mass activity would be the key to success.

[ ] from BROOKLYN was the next speaker.

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He indicated that any organization among the poor must be in a position to render a service to convince people in the community that the organization means business. He indicated that when Mobilization For Youth was attacked by the reactionaries in his community the poor people of the community formed a committee to defend this organization. The left made some mistake. They organized a committee to defend Mobilization For Youth, but they did it half-heartedly because they were critical of how Mobilization For Youth was organized in the first place, therefore, they were not effective and the struggle was lost. [ ] indicated in his opinion the young people who come around organizations are only willing to stay if they become convinced that they can win. The Party has many opportunities as it is bold and consistent.

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DOROTHY HEALEY agreed with his report and spent time discussing the necessity for participating in the administration's war on poverty program to guarantee that the poor are represented and that labor assert itself.

[redacted] from Philadelphia spoke indicating her agreement with the report. She indicated Philadelphia had been putting up a struggle to get the poor on all of the committees dealing with the poverty fund and had won in many places. [redacted] also indicated the Party was very weak on the mobilization of women and in her opinion the women were some of the main factors in building community organizations.

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[redacted] was the next speaker.

[redacted] indicated that five organizers, who were former members of CORE, organized a center to service the youth in Harlem. They were fairly successful and had gotten support from the communities. They had committees of ADC parents, a sports program and an unemployment service department. All in all [redacted] reports that thousands of young people came through the organization. A small corps of them were moving

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closer to the Party and were holding discussions with some Party leaders. [redacted] indicated that the organization devoted its main reason for folding to its lack of financial assistance. However, he indicated that it is possible to reconstruct and continue the movement.

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AL RICHMOND spoke indicating that this discussion on poverty put the Party Board meeting in correct perspective and more such discussion should take place. He indicated that the Party should examine each experience such as LIMA began to do in California so that we may learn lessons and mobilize our Party more. It is all right to talk about trends in the Negro and Labor Movements, but we must come down to just what are the Party members themselves doing.

On Sunday, July 18, 1965, during the lunch break, there was a meeting between EARL DURHAM and HENRY WINSTON.

WINSTON mentioned to DURHAM to relay the following to CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT when he returns to Chicago.

WINSTON told DURHAM to tell LIGHTFOOT that the resolution on Negro work was not discussed at the National Board and if LIGHTFOOT would read it the reasons will become clear. WINSTON indicated that DURHAM should tell LIGHTFOOT of the proposed meeting of the subcommittee in August and that they should discuss the following questions for the resolution:

1. An estimate of the present stage in the struggle for Negro rights, that is, the new features, the ideal currents, the struggle for unity, the problems of Negro nationalism, etc.

2. The party should indicate its answers to a whole series of questions, such as non-violence, civil disobedience, "The Deacons for Defense", boycotts, street demonstrations, etc. There should be a Party position on the newly expressed emphasis on "struggle for black power". There should be some estimates of the struggles in the South and approach to the concept of race pride and lastly, an approach to the building of the Party.

The committee that meets in Chicago should have an understanding that these questions must be included in any resolution presented to the Party for its pre-convention discussion.

DURHAM indicated he would relay the message to LIGHTFOOT.



DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 03-03-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

October 14, 1965

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTER

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP  
CONFERENCE

On August 24, 1965, confidential source, who ...  
has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that  
[redacted] a member of the District Board, Communist  
Party of [redacted], attended  
the convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
(SCLC) held in Birmingham, Ala., from August 7 - 12, 1965.

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On October 5, 1965, same source reported that  
[redacted] had traveled to New York City on [redacted]  
1965, to [redacted]

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This source subsequently advised that [redacted] had  
traveled to New York on [redacted]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-153735-2094

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CIRM; COMINFIL-SCLC

[redacted] At this time, [redacted] gave these officials  
a report on the [redacted]

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On [redacted] returned to New York  
City to give a report of the [redacted] to the members  
of the National Negro Commission, CPUSA, who were meeting  
in New York City. [redacted]

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This document contains neither recommendations nor  
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and  
is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date:

10/14/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

**TO:** DIRECTOR, FBI  
**FROM:** SAC, PHILADELPHIA  
**SUBJECT:** CIRM  
 IS - C  
 Bufile 100-442529  
 PH file 100-47672

COMINFIL OF SCLC  
 IS - C  
 Bufile 100-438794  
 PH file 100-47194

Remyairtel dated 7/31/65, and New York letter to  
 Bureau dated 9/20/65.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 10 copies of  
 a self-explanatory LHM. Copies are also being forwarded to  
 Atlanta and Birmingham because of their interest in the SCLC.  
 Copy also being sent New York.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc.-10) (RM)
- 3 - 100-442529 (CIRM)
- 1 - 100-438794 (SCLC)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-5718) (SCLC) (RM) (Enc.-1)
- 1 - Birmingham (157-115) (SCLC) (RM) (Enc.-1)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (RM) (Enc.-1)
- 3 - Philadelphia
- 1 - 100-47672
- 1 - 100-47194
- 1 - [redacted]

b7D

CJW/mfp  
 (10)

*1 XEROX cc f-NY 100-149194  
 (Cominfil SCLC)*

100-153735-2095

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FBI - NEW YORK	

*Editor [initials]  
 WAD*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

PH 100-47672

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The source utilized in the LHM is [redacted] who obtained the information in conversation with [redacted]

Enclosed LHM is classified confidential since the data reported by this source if revealed could reasonably result in the identification of this source and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

Reference is made to New York letter to the Bureau dated 9/20/65 concerning the National Negro Commission meeting in New York City. Philadelphia had no sources attending this meeting.

Wider dissemination will be made upon receipt of the informant's written statement.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia  
December 6, 1965

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP  
CONFERENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 3, 1965, confidential source advised that [redacted] to the President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), informed HARRY WACHTEL that on that date the news media had been pressing Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President, for a statement regarding the recent guilty verdicts concerning the murder of WILLIE BREWSTER in Anniston, Alabama, and civil rights prosecution of individuals involved in the shooting of Mrs. VIOLA LIUZZO near Selma, Alabama. [redacted] asked WACHTEL whether he had been able to formulate a statement for Reverend KING to utilize.

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In response to [redacted] request, WACHTEL dictated the following statement:

"The verdict of guilty by all white jurors in the State Court in Anniston, Alabama, and Federal Court in Montgomery, Alabama, represents rays of light and hope to offset the darkness cast by a long line of unpunished killings, including William Moore, Medgar Evers, four young girls in a Birmingham church, VIOLA LIUZZO and JONATHAN DANIELS. I believe that these verdicts resulted from a sense of revulsion on the part of many people in the South and also reflects the results of vigorous prosecution. It encourages me to believe that a new day of equal justice is in sight where aroused consciences of men."

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SERIALIZED FILED

DEC 7 1965
FBI - NEW YORK

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GROUP I  
EXCLUDED FROM  
AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING  
AND DECLASSIFICATION

100-153735-2096

RE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE SCLC  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

~~SECRET~~

combined with vigorous law enforcement will  
see the beginning of justice in the South.

"I am still of the belief that Federal  
legislation must be enacted to make possible  
that these new beginnings become widespread  
through the South. Despite these verdicts,  
there is a need for legislation for equal  
protection of Negroes and civil rights workers."

WACHTEL went on to instruct [redacted] to advise  
Reverend KING that in his contact with the news media, he  
should avoid praising the jury system but should emphasize  
the value of "vigorous prosecution."

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This document contains neither recommendations nor  
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and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are  
not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

HARRY WACHTEL

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, Kings Point, Long Island, New York.

A confidential source furnished information in December, 1949, that HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on the list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

On March 5, 1944, a confidential source furnished information which revealed that the name HARRY WACHTEL was on the list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding HARRY WACHTEL's [redacted] it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed her name and address were on a list of names of newly-elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP.

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GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
December 6, 1965

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 12/6/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)b6  
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

SM - C

Atlanta file 100-5586

Bureau file 100-106670

CIRM

Atlanta file 100-6670

Bureau file 100-442529

100-136585\* - [redacted]  
100-153735\* → 8 Sector 4  
100-151548 → T

UD  
RM

Avn

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8 copies and for New York 2 copies LHM.

Source referred to in the enclosed LHM is AT 1381-S\*.

NY 1190-S\* and Anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA [redacted] 7/19/50, at WFO re "NLG; IS-C" are sources used to characterize WACHTEL.

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Enclosed LHM sets forth a statement furnished to [redacted] by HARRY WACHTEL for the benefit of KING to utilize in contacting the press. Perusal of Atlanta newspapers for 12/3, 4 and 5/65 failed to reflect any comment by KING regarding the recent Alabama jury verdicts in line with the statement furnished by WACHTEL. However, it is noted that on the evening of 12/3/65 KING appeared on late evening

100-153735-2097

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)  
 (3- 100-106670)  
 (1- 100-442529)
- 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)  
 (1- 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- 4 - Atlanta  
 (1- 100-5586)  
 (1- 100-6670)
- AGS:cb  
 (10) (1- 157-565)  
 (1- 100-6670A)

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Approved: VM Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

AT 100-5586

television broadcast by NBC at which time he read a statement pertaining to the Alabama verdicts. The gist of the statement read by KING on that occasion closely paralleled that of the statement furnished by WACHTEL to [redacted]

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If the information from AT 1381-S\* is utilized for lead purposes, care should be taken not to jeopardize the source.

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because it contains information from a highly sensitive source with respect to the racial situation in the Atlanta area. It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-54303)

12/22/65

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SA [redacted]

[redacted]  
SM - C.

b7D

On 12/14/65, [redacted] advised that a regular meeting of the Staten Island Chapter, CORE was held on the evening of 12/7/65 on Staten Island. The informant stated that [redacted] was present at this meeting and acted in her capacity as [redacted] of the organization.

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b7C

- 1 - [redacted] (Inv) 46  
1 - 100-153249 (Cominfil, CORE) 41  
1 - 100-153735 (CIDM) 42

VJS:

b7D

100-153735-2098

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*Factor*  
*JL*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-153735)

DATE: 12-22-65

FROM : SA JOHN C. SEATON, #42

SUBJECT: C12M

Inasmuch as information was received that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, of Chicago, Ill., was in NYC, a physical surveillance was conducted at CP Headquarters, 23 W 26<sup>th</sup> St., NYC, in an effort to determine if his visit to NY had anything to do with the National Negro Commission of the CP, of which Lightfoot is Chairman. Lightfoot was observed entering 23 W 26<sup>th</sup> St., at 10:20 AM, and he was observed departing at 11:17 AM. When he left the building, he drove off with Henry Thinston in Thinston's car. The surveillance was continued at CP Headquarters, but no other individuals who might

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be active in the affairs of the Negro Commission  
were observed.

At 1:30 pm, Lightfoot was observed returning  
to CP Headquarters.

On 12/22/65, a physical surveillance was  
conducted at CP Headquarters, but Lightfoot was not  
observed.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

DATE: 12/22/65

FROM : SA JOHN C. SEATON

SUBJECT: CIRM

Rerep of SA JOHN C. SEATON dated 10/29/65, at  
NYC.

The next quarterly report on Communist Influence in Racial Matters is due 2/1/66. The following case files should be reviewed in order to determine if there is pertinent information to be reported in this report:

Cominfil CORE

" NAACP

" NALC

" SCLC

" SNCC

Progressive Labor Party

Socialist Workers Party

Workers World Party

If there is information to be reported in this matter, inserts for the report should be prepared by the Agents to whom these cases are assigned and forwarded to the Supervisor #42 no later than 1/14/66.

In regard to characterizations of individuals mentioned in the inserts, do not characterize anyone in the body of the insert, but prepare a rough draft characterization for inclusion in the Appendix Section of the report. No one

1-NY (100-79303) (COMINFIL CORE) (41)

1-NY (100-7629) (COMINFIL NAACP) (41)

1-NY (100-139834) (COMINFIL NALC) (41)

1-NY (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (41)

1-NY (100-147963) (COMINFIL SNCC) (41)

1-NY (100-147372) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY) (44)

1-NY (100-4013) (SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY) (44)

1-NY (100-137309) (WORKERS WORLD PARTY) (44)

1-NY (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)

JCS:rmv ✓

(9)

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1965

FBI - NEW YORK



5010-102

NY 100-153735

will be characterized in the body of the report, but instead, all individuals who can be characterized will be characterized in the Appendix. If an organization has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, it should be characterized in the body of the report and all other organizations will be included in the Appendix Section.

The insert should be dictated and the stenographer instructed to type it on a stencil.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-156199)

FROM : SA ROBERT O. JOHNSON

SUBJECT: TRADE UNIONISTS FOR PEACE  
IS-C

DATE:  
12/23/65

Identity of Source

b7D

Description of info

Meeting of the TUFF Activities Committee,  
12/9/65

Date Received

12/14/65

Original located

b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

1-[REDACTED] (INV) [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-15628 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-121343 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-147457 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-88868 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-71105 [REDACTED] (45)  
1-100-95836 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-110110 [REDACTED] (45)  
1-100-136577 [REDACTED] (45)  
1-100-79785 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-155662 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-116704 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-62649 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-147022 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-85964 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-66844 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-59993 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-64049 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-89790 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-156725 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-57888 [REDACTED] (45)  
1-100-139515 [REDACTED]  
1-100-76571 [REDACTED] (45)  
1-100-156199 (41)

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(COPIES CONTINUED)

100-153735-2101  
Searched... Indexed.  
Serialized Filed.

DEC 23, 1965  
FBI-NEW YORK

ROJ:mjb  
(32)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-156199

(COPIES CONTINUED)

1-100-58009 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-77312 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-70746 [REDACTED] (47)  
1-100-156443 (ANTI-WAR CONVENTION, 11/25-28/65) (43)  
1-100-156326 (MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR PEACE IN VIET NAM) (43)  
1-100-153735 (CIRM) (42)  
1-100-128809 (CP,USA, NYD STRATEGY IN IND) (42)  
1-100-128812 (CP,USA, NYD POLITICAL ACTIVITIES) (42)

b6  
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Date Written 12/12/65

Date of Event: 12/9/65

Event: Trade Unionists For Peace Activities Committee  
meeting at 857 Broadway, New York, New York, Room 408

Number Present: 26

Names Present:



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A white male no name  
A negro male from Transport name [redacted]  
A white male and his wife name [redacted]  
A white female name [redacted]

There were many new people at the meeting.

The agenda for the meeting: A report by [redacted] on the Washington D.C. Peace Convention. [redacted] said many people in the Civil Rights Movement from the south were at the convention. He said the convention was under the name of the Peace Workshop. He said a peace domination in the south by the Peace Movement and the Civil Rights people in the month of February 1966 and in the month of March adomination will take place in all of the communities in the north. The next point on the agenda is a report by [redacted] on finance. She said the Eat in For Peace was a successful event. She said the organization made 370 dollars in profit from it. Also,

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she said 29 people pleg to give 5 dollars a month to the organization. (3) Report by [redacted] on the city-wide Peace Committee. [redacted] said the committee is planning a city-wide domination in 1966. (4) House Committee report by [redacted]. He said this committee is to see that the headquarters of the Trade Unionists for Peace is opened days and evenings from Mon. to Fri.. (5) Report by [redacted] on organization. She said a meeting take place on 12/8/65 with the Trade Unionists For Peace and a number of unions official. She said the unions that have no peace committee will work to setup peace committees in they unions. She also said that the Trade Unionist For Peace will support a peace candidate in the 17th Congressional District to fill Mayor-elect LINDSAY's unexpired term. She said [redacted] came out for peace and we will support him. She called upon the people at the meeting to setup committees.

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(4) Committee Setup: Finance, House, Organizational and Publicity. [redacted] said the Trade Unionist for Peace will distribute its organization literature at all of the New York State Unemployment Insurance Offices.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, NEW YORK (100-91911)

DATE: 12/23/65

FROM: SA VINCENT J. ASCHERL (#42)

SUBJECT: JESSE WILLIARD GRAY  
SM-C

The following information was furnished by NY 5264-S\* on the dates indicated. This source has furnished reliable information in the past. IF THIS INFORMATION IS DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU, IT SHOULD BE PARAPHRASED IN ORDER TO CONCEAL THE SOURCE.

- 1 - New York (100-91911) (JESSE GRAY) (#42)  
1 - New York (157-1255) (CCH) (#42)  
1 - New York (100-152081) (CCH) (#41)  
1 - New York (100- ) [REDACTED] Assistant to JESSE GRAY in CCH, NYC (#43)  
1 - New York (100-154448) [REDACTED] (#47)  
1 - New York (100-103904) [REDACTED] (#45)  
1 - New York (100-153918) [REDACTED] (#43)  
1 - New York (100-110680) [REDACTED] (#45)  
1 - New York (157- ) [REDACTED] (Black Arts Theater) (#44)  
1 - New York (100- ) [REDACTED] assists in office of Community Council on Housing, NYC (#43)  
1 - New York (157-1561) (Friends of Deacons for Defense & Justice) (#43)  
1 - New York (157-892) (Racial Situation NYD) (#42)  
1 - New York (157-1490) [REDACTED] (#44)  
1 - New York (100-147372) (PLP) (#44)  
1 - New York (100-138651) [REDACTED] (#44)  
1 - New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#44)  
1 - New York (157-1595) [REDACTED] (#43)  
1 - New York (157- ) [REDACTED] (Freedom Democratic Party) (#43)  
1 - New York (100-146817) [REDACTED] (#45)  
1 - New York (100-148047) (SDS) (#41)  
1 - New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#44)  
1 - New York (157-1241) (Haryou-Act) (#42)  
1 - New York (100-153500) [REDACTED] (#43)  
1 - New York (100-153732) [REDACTED] (#45)  
1 - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (#43)  
1 - New York (100- ) [REDACTED] (#43)

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1 - New York  
VJA/man (28)

100-153735-2102

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
30 DEC 23 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

#42

Seaton

NY 100-91911

11/22/65

[redacted] wife of JESSE GRAY, contacted him and said she expected money from him on the following Thursday.

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[redacted] contacted [redacted] at the Office of Community Council on Housing, 300 West 121st Street, NYC, to inform [redacted] that JESSE GRAY was down at the War on Poverty Office with certain tenants.

[redacted] contacted [redacted] who on this date was assisting in the Office of the Community Council on Housing (CCH). [redacted] informed [redacted] that the Housing Conference would be held at the Lutheran Church of the Transfiguration. She did not, however, mention the date of this conference.

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JESSE GRAY contacted [redacted] Academy 2-9715. They discussed demonstrations held by JESSE GRAY at the Office of Economic Opportunity, 40 East 41st Street, NYC. The gist of this discussion was forwarded 11/23/65, to Bureau.

[redacted] contacted JESSE GRAY at CCH. They had an argument over money. GRAY stated he would try to drop by and bring some money.

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[redacted] from Black Arts Repertory Theater contacted JESSE GRAY and invited him to attend a forum on 12/12/65. He said this would be a round table discussion entitled Destruction of Harlem with a subtitle on housing. [redacted] hoped that JESSE GRAY would speak on housing. JESSE indicated he would probably attend.

(FNU) [redacted] from the Friends of the Decons, NY Chapter, contacted CCH and asked for JESSE GRAY. He left a message that JESSE GRAY contact him before noon.

11/24/65

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[redacted] contacted CCH and stated that Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is trying to get representatives from all the Harlem organizations to attend a preparatory

NY 100-91911

meeting which would discuss a defense rally for WILLIAM EPTON. They would like JESSE GRAY to take part. If JESSE could not make it, she asked that someone from CCH attend in his place. The preparatory meeting was to be held at 336 Lenox Avenue.

JESSE GRAY contacted [REDACTED] Harlem Branch, PLP. [REDACTED] informed GRAY that PLP was mobilizing organizations to meet on 11/30/65, in relation to WILLIAM EPTON's trial. This meeting was to prepare for a rally in support of WILLIAM EPTON. JESSE GRAY said that he would send someone to attend the meeting.

11/26/65

WILLIAM EPTON contacted JESSE GRAY at CCH. They agreed to meet the following day at 10:00 at JESSE GRAY's office.

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[REDACTED] contacted [REDACTED] at CCH. She asked for JESSE GRAY who was not in. She said that she worked at CCH generally during the day. [REDACTED] stated that he remembered [REDACTED] and said that the Friends of the Deacons were having a meeting at that time in JESSE GRAY's office.

11/29/65

JESSE GRAY contacted [REDACTED] at Tompkins 2-6373. He asked for [REDACTED] and left word that [REDACTED] should call him at CCH in reference to a sit-in demonstration at the War on Poverty Office, NYC. To [REDACTED] listed to [REDACTED] NYC.

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[REDACTED] contacted JESSE GRAY at CCH. [REDACTED] stated that they would like JESSE GRAY to speak on the following week at a rally for WILLIAM EPTON at 100 Street and Broadway, NYC. [REDACTED] stated that some of the other speakers would be [REDACTED] of "Monthly Review", [REDACTED] of Freedom Democratic Party and [REDACTED] of Students for a Democratic Society. JESSE stated he would consider it and call back.

NY 100-91911

11/30/65

JESSE GRAY contacted [ ] at Haryou-Act. [ ] stated that he had a discussion with [ ] of Haryou-Act and they had decided on a plan of action. He said that JESSE GRAY, [ ] and himself, [ ], should get together and discuss the matter. [ ] described [ ] as assigned to the Employment Division of Haryou-Act. JESSE GRAY made an appointment to see [ ].

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12/2/65

[ ] contacted JESSE GRAY at CCH. They discussed demonstrations conducted by JESSE GRAY at the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), 40 East 41st Street, NYC. JESSE GRAY said he heard through the "grapevine" that [ ] of Haryou-Act was supposed to meet with a man from Washington. It was [ ] understanding that the man from Washington was going to make funds available. GRAY asked [ ] to come over to CCH. [ ] said he would come over after he talked to [ ] (PH). GRAY stated he wanted them to get together and conduct a sit-in at OEO, NYC, for the weekend and then have a major picket line at OEO on Monday morning. The purpose of the demonstration would be the release of that Haryou money so that "we can get heat and hot water". [ ] stated that as soon as [ ] came in, they would come over to JESSE GRAY's office.

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[ ] (LNU) contacted JESSE GRAY at CCH. She told him about a party scheduled at the residence of [ ] [ ] on the following day at 8:00 PM. [ ] stated that [ ] is a co-worker with her. JESSE GRAY arranged to meet [ ] that evening at 11:00.

JESSE GRAY contacted [ ] at Haryou-Act. [ ] stated that he was prepared to fulfill his commitment to JESSE GRAY on the paper. JESSE GRAY wanted [ ] to be the liaison man between himself and [ ] in this matter. [ ] agreed. [ ] will get

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NY 100-91911

JESSE GRAY 40 reams of paper,  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$  size. JESSE wanted this by the same afternoon as "we should be on the street tonight". [redacted] said they would get it to him in a  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour. JESSE told [redacted] to send [redacted] over to his office as soon as he could.

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[redacted] (PH) contacted [redacted] at CCH. [redacted] left a message for JESSE GRAY to contact him at 865-3300, extension 77. This number is listed to Haryou-Act, West 125th Street, NYC.

[redacted] Haryou-Act, 856-3300, extension 75, contacted ART BROWN at CCH and inquired about a demonstration at 40 East 41st Street, NYC. BROWN stated he did not know about it but would call him back.

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ART BROWN at CCH and asked for [redacted] BROWN stated he had not seen [redacted] for the past 2 or 3 weeks. [redacted] asked that word be given to [redacted] to call him [redacted].

[redacted] from PLP contacted ART BROWN at CCH. He informed BROWN that the committee which met at PLP on last Tuesday would like permission to use JESSE GRAY's address on the leaflet for the rally which is to be held on 12/8/65, at the Hotel Theresa, NYC. BROWN stated he would contact JESSE GRAY in this matter. (FNU) [redacted] (PH) contacted ART BROWN at CCH. [redacted] said he was at the demonstration at OEO, NYC, and there were 3 men from Haryou-Act down there with their signs and 4 women inside. [redacted] said it was effective. He told BROWN to send as many as possible down there.

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia  
December 27, 1965

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 03-03-2012

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN  
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 22, 1965, a confidential source advised that HARRY WACHTEL discussed with [redacted] Citizenship School, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) a contemplated project which [redacted] has recently devised. [redacted] indicated his project involves intensive specialized citizenship training to a group of individuals who will serve as a cadre to help Negroes overcome problems of illiteracy. WACHTEL told [redacted] he was very enthused about [redacted] project and felt that its implementation will solve the present problem of illiteracy many times faster than "conventional" methods. He said [redacted] project will be far superior to the method of waiting until enough people are professionally qualified to teach other people.

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WACHTEL went on to tell [redacted] that he had recently discussed [redacted] project with [redacted] of the Ford Foundation. He said [redacted] handles requests for funds related to Civil rights matters for the Ford Foundation. WACHTEL said [redacted] indicated he was interested in [redacted] contemplated project and was desirous of discussing it personally with [redacted]. He said [redacted] office is located at 477 Madison Avenue, New York City and his telephone number is PL 1-2900.

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WACHTEL told [redacted] there was a possible problem so far as obtaining Ford Foundation money to assist with [redacted] project in that the Ford Foundation attempts to avoid making financial grants directly to civil rights organizations. However, WACHTEL explained [redacted] project could be

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~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from Automatic  
Downgrading and Declassification

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>(initials)</i>	FILED <i>(initials)</i>
DEC 2 9 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100-153735-2103

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN  
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE;  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

considered as an experimental matter and he knows that the Ford Foundation does furnish grants for experimental activity.

WACHTEL said he felt that possibly the Ford Foundation could assist with [redacted] project financially if arrangements could be worked out possibly through Michigan State University. In such an arrangement, WACHTEL explained the University would request a financial grant from the Ford Foundation and manage the funds. [redacted] would serve as project director and hire those individuals whom he desired.

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[redacted] said he thought the opportunity of arranging such a grant through Michigan State University would be very desirable in view of the facilities which this University offers.

WACHTEL concluded this discussion with [redacted] by promising to discuss the various aspects of [redacted] project with Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President, SCLC.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
December 27, 1965

FD 323

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia  
December 27, 1965

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 03-03-2012

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN  
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On December 22, 1965 a confidential source advised that HARRY WACHTEL inquired of [redacted] to the President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) whether she had mailed the "follow-ups" in connection with the American Foundation for Non-Violence (AFN). [redacted] indicated she had not so far accomplished this and WACHTEL impressed upon her it was essential that this be done promptly.

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WACHTEL told [redacted] that [redacted] not identified) and [redacted] (not identified) have agreed to be affiliated with the AFN and that their names should be included on "the list."

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b7C

The document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from Automatic  
Downgrading and Declassification

100-153735-2103

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 28 1965	
FBI—NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]*

F B I

Date: 12/27/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA  
 RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC  
 IS - C  
 Atlanta file 100-5718  
 Bureau file 100-438794  
 ✓ 100-151548\*  
 CIRM  
 IS-C  
 Atlanta file 100-6670  
 Bureau file 100-442529

Index  
LHM  
12/27/65  
JES

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8 copies, for Detroit 1 copy and for New York 3 copies of LHM.

Source referred to in the enclosed LHM is AT 1380-S\*.

Sources utilized to characterize WACHTEL are NY 1190-S\* and anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA [redacted]  
 [redacted] 7/19/50 at WFO re: "NLG; IS-C."

b6  
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One copy of the enclosed LHM is being furnished Detroit at this time for its information.

If the information from AT 1380-S\* is utilized for lead purposes, care should be taken not to jeopardize the source.

- 4 - Bureau (3 - 100-438794) (SCLC) (Enc. 9) (RM)  
 (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 1 - Detroit (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)  
 (1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- 4 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)  
 (1 - 100-6670) (CIRM)  
 (1 - 100-6670A)  
 (1 - 157-1343) [redacted]

AGS:cmp  
(12)

100-153735-2104

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 29 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

b6  
b7C

Approved: J K P cmr  
 Special Agent in Charge Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

AT 100-5718

AGS:cmp

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~  
because it contains information from a highly sensitive  
source with respect to the racial situation in the  
Atlanta area. It is felt this classification is necessary  
in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the  
informant in furnishing information of this nature.

F B I

Date: 12/27/65

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTELAIRMAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA  
 RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC  
 IS - C  
 Atlanta file 100-5718  
 Bureau file 100-438794

100-151548\*

CIRM  
 IS-C  
 Atlanta file 100-6670  
 Bureau file 100-442529

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8 copies and for New York 3 copies of LHM.

Source referred to in the enclosed LHM is AT 1380-S\*.

Sources utilized to characterize WACHTEL are NY 119Q-S\* and anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA [redacted] 7/19/50 at WFO re: "NLG; IS-C."

b6  
b7C

If the information from AT 1380-S\* is utilized for lead purposes, care should be taken not to jeopardize the source.

4 - Bureau (3 - 100-438794) (SCLC) (Enc. 9) (RM)

(1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)

3 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)

(1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)

5 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)

(1 - 100-6670) (CIRM)

(1 - 100-6670A) [redacted]

(1 - 157-565) [redacted]

(1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)

AGS:cmp

(12)

100-153735-2104

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 23 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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b7C

Approved:



Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44252Y) DATE: 1/5/66

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-66078)

SUBJECT: CIRM

Re Atlanta airtel to Bureau dated 11/24/65.

The indices of the Los Angeles Office contain no information that [redacted] is a member of or has engaged in any subversive activity other than her connection with Women's Strike for Peace (WISP). As of June, 1962, and as of March, 1964, she was [redacted] of "LA WISP" and although she continued to be active in WISP organization in 1965 she is no longer editor of "LA WISP".

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b7D [redacted] who is personally acquainted with [redacted] [redacted] advised on 12/14/65 that informant knows of no subversive or organizational affiliation on the part of [redacted] other than her connection with WISP. Source did not know what connection, if any, [redacted] has with SCLC.

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Records of the Registrar of Voters, 808 North Spring Street, Los Angeles when reviewed on 2/14/65, disclosed that [redacted] Los Angeles, registered as a voter on 2/26/58, listing her occupation as [redacted], born in Pennsylvania. She listed a prior registration from [redacted] Los Angeles. [redacted] Los Angeles, registered as a voter on 4/10/58, listing himself as an [redacted] born in Minneapolis and formerly registered at [redacted] Both when registering indicated their

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- 4 - Bureau (RM)  
(1 - [redacted])  
(1 - 100-438794, SCLC)
- 3 - New York (100-153735) (RM)  
(1 - [redacted])  
(1 - SCLC)
- 3 - Atlanta (100-6670) (RM)  
(1 - 100-5718, SCLC)
- 3 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-65141, SCLC)  
(1 - 100-65614, [redacted])

100-153735

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 7 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Seaton

RAP/lmt  
(13)

100-153735-2107

LA 100-66078

intention to affiliate with the Democratic Party at the next ensuing primary election.

On 12/14/65 SA [redacted] engaged [redacted] [redacted] in a personal pretext interview in front of her residence at [redacted] Los Angeles, and ascertained that she resided there with her husband, [redacted]. The pretext was that of trying to locate someone in the general neighborhood with the last name of [redacted] but a different first name from that of her husband. It was noted that [redacted] is rather [redacted] and has [redacted] hair and is attractive in appearance.

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On 12/15/65 it was ascertained by means of a pretext telephone call by SA [redacted] to the office of SCLC, 2400 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, telephone 731-2456, that [redacted] is a [redacted] for SCLC and generally works on Saturday afternoons only at the SCLC office, which is also listed in the phone book as the Western Christian Leadership Conference Office. The pretext was that of having previously been in touch with [redacted] regarding volunteer work on behalf of SCLC and desired to recontact her concerning this matter.

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[redacted] is not on the Security Index nor the Reserve Index of the Los Angeles Office, and no further investigation is contemplated on her at this time UACB.

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b7C

File—Serial Charge Out  
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

08-16-83475-1 GPO

File 190 Case No. 153735 Date 5/18/77  
Class.  Last Serial   
 Pending  Closed  
Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged  
2106 Serial sent to Bureau, per  
2105 Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,  
 titled; Bernard S. Lee v.  
 Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.  
 BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date \_\_\_\_\_

To \_\_\_\_\_ From: \_\_\_\_\_

Initials of  
Clerk

Date

{ \_\_\_\_\_  
{ \_\_\_\_\_  
{ \_\_\_\_\_

Date Charged

Employee

Location

1/13/68

Airtel

To: SACs Atlanta (100-5718)  
New York (100-140104)

From: Director, FBI (100-423794)

COLINFIL OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN  
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EcNYtel dated 1/12/68 advised that the meeting of SCLC officials scheduled for Atlanta on 1/14/68 has been rescheduled for New York City on 1/19/68.

New York will endeavor to give as full coverage to this meeting as is possible. The identity of all participants and matters discussed should be determined if feasible, and all pertinent information obtained should be furnished to the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination.

Atlanta will follow this matter closely to insure that the Bureau and New York are kept advised of any pertinent information developed concerning this scheduled meeting.

100-153735-2108

D C

100-153735-2108

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-153735)

FROM : SA JOHN C. SEATON, #42

SUBJECT: CIRM

DATE: 1-14-66

On 1/13/66, a physical surveillance was conducted by SA SEATON in the area of CP Headquarters, 23 WEST 26<sup>th</sup> ST., NYC. In the recent past, just prior to a meeting of the National Committee of the CP, a CP National Negro Commission meeting has been held. Inasmuch as a meeting of the National Committee of the CP is scheduled to begin on 1/14/66, a physical surveillance was conducted on 1/13/66, in an effort to determine if the Negro Commission office CP was meeting. No activity was observed which would indicate that such a meeting took place.

100-153735-210

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JAN 14 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	



File—Serial Charge Out  
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-33475-1 GPO

File	100	Case No.	153 TBS	Last Serial	Date
Class.					6/4/77 11
		<input type="checkbox"/> Pending	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Closed		
Serial No.	Description of Serial			Date Charged	
	Serial sent to Bureau, per				
	Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,				
	titled; Bernard S. Lee v.				
	Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.				
BuFile 62-117194d					

## Section #23

**Employee**

RECHARGE

Date

To \_\_\_\_\_ From \_\_\_\_\_

Initials of  
Clerk

Date {  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Date Charged**

**Employees**

### Location

Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material  
FD-306 (3-21-58)

Memo: SAC 134-14A-5116  
From: SA Robert C Norton  
Subject: [redacted]

b7D

Date received 10-12-65 Received from (name or symbol number) Received by Robert C. Norton

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)  
 in person  by telephone  by mail  orally  recording device  written by informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dictated \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Report \_\_\_\_\_

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Date(s) of activity \_\_\_\_\_

Authenticated  
by Informant \_\_\_\_\_

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Brief description of activity or material

Letter from Claude Lightfoot to [redacted]  
[redacted] re CP National meeting  
10-7-65 (with envelope which mailed)

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

b7D

On 10-12-65 [redacted] furnished SA Robert C. Norton a letter from Claude Lightfoot to [redacted]  
[redacted] re a CP National meeting to be held 10-7-65.  
A Xerox copy of the letter and the envelope in which it was mailed, <sup>is</sup> being made a part of each copy of this memorandum.

153735-2114  
100-88644

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 9 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Block Stamp

Section

[redacted]

RCN: AHD

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3 Bar 100-10584 (Green, Jake)  
100-782162 (Youngblood)

*(Oct 12, 1966)*  
September 29, 1965

Dear Friend:

We have just come through an intensive summer of party activity among young people. For the first time in many years we are breaking ground among Negro youth. In several areas of the country we have accumulated some positive experiences which should be shared collectively.

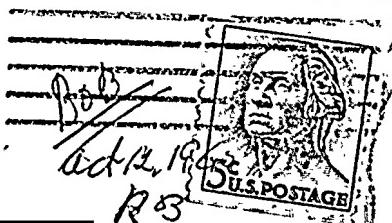
To facilitate this objective, the next regular meeting of the Commission on Negro Work will devote its entire session to youth work. Several areas over the country have been asked to prepare reports. The central overall discussion will center around how to organize and lead the Negro youth in the ghettos in struggle against the intolerable conditions.

You are invited to attend this meeting. It will be held in the board room at 23 West 26th Street, New York City at 10 A.M. on Thursday, Oct. 7th.

We urge you to give top priority to this meeting and be on time.

Fraternally yours,

Claude



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Baltimore, Md. 21223

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81)

1/11/66

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33729)

CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

ReCGlet to Bureau dated December 15, 1965, captioned, "CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; IS - C;" and "CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT; IS - C; ISA OF 1950."

EXTREME CARE MUST BE EXERCISED IN CONNECTION WITH THE HANDLING OF INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THIS INFORMATION WAS CONFIDENTIALLY RECEIVED AND BECAUSE BY ITS VERY NATURE IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS CORROBORATED THROUGH ANOTHER SOURCE, THAT IT NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THIS BUREAU AT THIS TIME.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies of an informant's statement dated January 9, 1966, containing information orally furnished on January 9, 1966, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD V. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on January 11, 1966, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9470.

3-Bureau (Enc. 3)(RM)

(1 - 100- (Possible Delegation of Negro Artists to Soviet Union, 1966)

③ New York (RM)

(1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)

(1 - 100- (Possible Delegation of Negro Artists to Soviet Union, 1966)

(1 - 134-91 (Info)

8-Chicago

(1 - A)134-46-9470)

(1 - 100-16601 (MARGARET BURROUGHS)

(1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

(1 - 100-18961 (CP, Illinois District - International Relations)

(1 - 100- (Possible Delegation of Negro Artists to Soviet Union, 1966)

RWH:MDW

(12)

100-153735-2112

SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

TWQ

January 9, 1966

On January 9, 1966, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, leading functionary of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois, noted that before he returned to the United States in December, 1965, from the Soviet Union, he had met with representatives of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Moscow, USSR. At the time he had arranged for a delegation consisting of Negro artists to be headed by MARGARET BURROUGHS of Chicago to visit the Soviet Union and hold an art exhibit there during the Summer of 1966. Up to the present time, LIGHTFOOT noted he had heard nothing further from the Russians on this matter and there has been no specific invitation extended to such a delegation nor has any date been provided when the delegation should visit that country. He stated it was important that some word be received from the Russians on this matter since BURROUGHS has also been invited to visit Ghana this summer together with some other Negro artists and to set up a Negro art exhibit in Accra. In view of this, LIGHTFOOT is very interested in having some contact made with the CP of the Soviet Union so that they will formalize plans concerning this Negro artist delegation and set the dates when they should be in the Soviet Union.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 1/19/66  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Re Chicago airtel to the Director dated 1/17/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 3 copies, and attached to each copy of this letter designated for interested Offices, is one copy of an informant statement concerning a meeting of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, held in New York on January 15 to 17, 1966. This information was furnished by [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA [redacted] on January 17, 1966.

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The original informant report is maintained in  
Chicago file A [redacted]

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3 - Bureau (Encl. 3)(RM)  
④0 - New York (RM)

- (1 - 100-80641) (CP, USA - Organization)
- (1 - 100-84994) (GUS HALL)
- (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
- (1 - 100-105078) (HYMAN LUMER)
- (1 - 100-269 ) (HENRY WINSTON)
- (1 - 100-13472) (GIL GREEN)
- (1 - 100-128255) (DAN RUBIN)
- (1 - 100-80532) (HERB APTHEKER)
- (1 - 100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- (1 - 100-48033) (IRVING POTASH)
- (1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
- (1 - 100-21421) [redacted]
- (1 - 100-15828) (JOE BRANDT)
- (1 - 100-25623) [redacted]
- (1 - 100-27539) (CARL WINTER)
- (1 - 100- ) (HELEN WINTER)

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(Copies cont. page 2)

100-153735-2117

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JAN 24 1966

FBI - NEW YORK

Sealman

**CG 100-33741**

**40 - New York (Cont.)**

(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-93665) (GEORGE MORRIS)  
(1 - 101-559 ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-13203) (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)  
(1 - 100-9595 ) (PAUL NOVICK)  
(1 - 100-7918 ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-9369 ) (TED BASSETT)  
(1 - 100-13473) (SI GERSON)  
(1 - 100-79025) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-19491) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-148121) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-56 ) (MIKE DAVIDOW)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100-89691) (CP, USA-Dom. Ad. Issues)  
(1 - 100-99590) (CP, USA-Strategy in Industry)  
(1 - 100- ) (CIRM) 100-151548\*  
(1 - 100-79717) (CP, USA-Political Activities)  
(1 - 100-81675) (CP, USA-Pamphlets and Publications)  
(1 - 100-26032) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (JAMES ALLEN)

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**3 - Los Angeles (RM)**

(1 - 100-4486 ) (DOROTHY HEALEY)  
(1 - 100-4663 ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

**5 - San Francisco (RM)**

(1 - 100-25215) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP; USA-Organization)  
(1 - 61-415 ) (AL RICHMOND)  
(1 - 65-1242 ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 65-1242 ) (MICKEY LIMA)

**2 - Seattle (RM)**

(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

(Copies cont. page 3)

CG 100-33741

3 - Minneapolis (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

2 - Milwaukee (RM)  
(1 - 100-4 ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

2 - Detroit (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

2 - Philadelphia (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

2 - Cleveland (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (ANTON KRCHMAREK)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

3 - Baltimore (RM)  
(1 - 100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS)  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)  
(1 - 100- ) (JAKE GREEN)

2 - Portland (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

2 - Pittsburgh (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

2 - New Haven (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) [REDACTED]  
(1 - 100- ) (CP, USA-Organization)

(Copies cont. page 4)

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CG 100-33741

12 - Chicago [redacted]

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(1 - A [redacted])  
(1 - 100- ) (MORRIS CECILDS)  
(1 - 61-867 ) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
(1 - 100-12890) [redacted]  
(1 - 100-20289) [redacted] b6  
(1 - 100-24800) (LOU DISKIN)  
(1 - 100-3313 ) (JACK KLING)  
(1 - 100-18957) (CP, USA-Youth Matters)  
(1 - 100-18209) (CP, USA-Pamphlets and Publications)  
(1 - 100-32864) (CP, USA-Counterintelligence)  
(1 - 100-41324) (CIRM)

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PHK/rms  
(85)

Chicago, Illinois  
January 17, 1966

An enlarged meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party (CP), USA, was held in New York City, New York, on January 14, 15, 16, and 17, 1966. The general attendance consisted of approximately 30 people present. Among those present were the following on January 15 and 16, 1966:

GUS HALL  
JIM JACKSON  
HY LUMER  
HENRY WINSTON  
GIL GREEN

[REDACTED]  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
HERB APTHAKER (absent 1/16/66)  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
IRV POTASH  
MORRIS CHILDS  
WILLIAM PATTERSON

[REDACTED] (absent 1/16/66)

JOE BRANDT

[REDACTED]  
CARL WINTER  
HELEN WINTER

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[REDACTED]  
DOROTHY HEALEY  
AL RICHMOND

[REDACTED]  
LOU DISKIN  
JACK KLING (absent 1/15/66)

[REDACTED]  
JAKE GREEN  
JAMES ALLEN (absent 1/16/66)

[Redacted]  
GEORGE MEYERS  
GEORGE MORRIS  
WILL WEINSTONE

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[Redacted]  
MICKEY IENNA

[Redacted]  
TED BASSETT  
SI GERSON

[Redacted] (absent 1/16/66)  
About a total of 10 youth.

The meeting opened on January 15, 1966, at the Wellington Hotel. It had been preceded by a meeting Friday, January 14, 1966, of the National Board plus certain members of the National Committee who were in town early. The agenda proposed was a report by GUS HALL, a sub-report later by HY LUMER, a draft resolution for the convention, a report from HERB APTEKMAN on his visit to Hanoi, and lastly, the plans for the convention whose tentative dates were set for June 14, 15, 16, and 17, 1966. GUS HALL's report dealt with the following:

This particular moment in history is decisive for the working class and peace forces of the world. The factors for the defeat of Imperialism are growing daily. At the same time, Imperialist reaction is escalating its efforts. Therefore, the danger of World War is still great. The Imperialists in America continue to underestimate and miscalculate; therefore, they make serious and dangerous errors. There is no real mass support for the American policy in Viet Nam, in spite of the ideological campaign being undertaken by the government. They are sending emissaries all over the world due to the tremendous sentiment against their action. They stopped the bombing of North Viet Nam not for any peace sentiment, but because of the reactions of the rest of the world. Our Party has been reluctant to speak out on this question and has not given a lead to the masses which helped them to develop struggles to continue cessation of bombings. If we were consistent in our efforts, we would help to mobilize many forces in this country who are seeking to end the war by negotiation. On the domestic front, HALL dealt with the problem the Administration has in trying to continue the policy of guns and butter. This argument, of course, is a fraud. It is impossible for the Administration to accomplish this effort. The government argues that at this

point, we cannot afford the welfare domestic program. The Party must say that what we cannot afford is the war program. The government continues to argue about the threat of inflation and the State of the Union message by President LYNDON B. JOHNSON indicates this continuous frustration. In talking about the peace movement, HALL's report indicated that there is mounting pressure in this country and a growing unity of the peace forces directing their protest against the policies of the United States. This movement is spearheaded by young people and in some instances, the Party is in open participation. The Party's participation changes the character of the movement and helps it develop more anti-Imperialist consciousness. What is necessary is the development of more anti-Imperialist centers in the peace movement. The Party, in addition, must play a role in helping labor find its way into the peace movement. On labor, HALL spent the main portion of his report dealing with the necessity for the Party to make a sharp break in its approach to the working class. He indicated that the Transport Workers Union (TWU) strike in New York indicated the sharpness of the character of the class struggle in the United States and the dangers that are presented by the role of the government in trying to reduce the effectiveness of the trade union movement.

with new laws and new demands. The internal problems in the unions make it necessary for the Party to develop long range approaches to this question. The main fight the Party must conduct is the fight for the unity of the trade union movement. This fight must be conducted around three questions: 1. their internal unity of the trade union movement; 2. the unity of the working class, especially Negro-white unity; and 3. the unity of the unorganized workers and the organized workers and as part of that, the organization of the unorganized into the labor movement. HALL continued indicating that the crisis that faces most American cities is the crisis of the working class since most of the working class is centered in these cities. The fight for the inclusion of the working class in the policies that affect the cities is of utmost importance. On civil rights, HALL indicated that [redacted] exposed the crisis and the plantation system and Jim Crow corruption in American life. The ruling class resorts to terror in the South to maintain its position. A big task for the Party in this period is the struggle to link the civil rights fight with the struggle for peace. On political action, HALL indicated that our direction must be for developing independent political activities among the masses. But these activities now should not be just protest

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campaigns but should be campaigns organized to win. We must also finalize CP candidates in this election. On the Party itself, HALL indicated that the Party has been very slow in taking advantage of new situations. There has been a limited growth of the Party in 1965, but there are still too many barriers to allowing honest people to join the Party. The notable expansions have been the youth and they account for the majority of the new recruits to the Party. We must combat all ideologies that tend to restrict the Party's growth. Many comrades have become afraid to recruit and raise all types of questions about people because they do not trust them. We must have a very bold approach to the building of the Party.

That was the essence of GUS HALL's report.

The first speaker on the report was ANTON KRCHMARAK from Ohio. KRCHMARAK stated his agreement with the report and spent his main time on developing GUS HALL's position on the necessity for building the Party's strength among the working class.

[redacted] spoke indicating his agreement with the report and put stress on independent political action and developing independent forms in the labor movement, and he reported a successful meeting in Chicago held at the Butcher

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Workers' Hall Thursday, January 13, 1966, in which about 100 trade unionists heard [redacted] lecture on the history of the Chicago labor movement. [redacted] also indicated that the Party has recruited young people in Chicago and has a list that they are still working on.

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[redacted] from Detroit spoke and indicated his agreement with the report and stressed independent political activity but particularly emphasizing the necessity for organizing to win.

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[redacted] spoke agreeing with the report but stressing problems of implementation with a weak Party.

GEORGE MEYERS indicated his approach to people in the South emphasizing the reign of terror that exists for the Negro people, also emphasizing that the white working class is not as involved in the anti-Negro activities as the American press would lead you to believe. He also indicated that a series of articles on his experiences will appear in the next two issues of "The Worker."

GEORGE MORRIS spent his time in developing an analysis of the TWU strike in New York. His main evaluation was positive, and he indicated that he felt the Party did not fully understand the significance of the strike and felt that some comrades were

even joining the cry that the TWU was ignoring the public and should not have done some of the things it did.

JIM JACKSON emphasized the necessity for building working class leadership and said that this should be the bond of departure for all of our work.

[redacted] from the State of Washington indicated how he had won his fight to become reinstated in the Longshore Union after 14 years, and he is scheduled to report to work January 17, 1966. He agrees with the significance of the TWU fight and with GEORGE MORRIS' analysis; however, he indicated it was ideologically weak in winning the rest of the people of New York to its position.

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[redacted] indicated the history of the struggle against the McCarren Act and listed the victories won and the decisions handed down by the Supreme Court. She indicated that they still needed mass struggle and approximately \$30,000. She feels that the end will come to a head at the present rate of litigation in about the Spring of 1967.

[redacted] stated attitudes toward the trade unions have been wrong. We have not clarified our position for socialism in the United States.

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[redacted] emphasized the weaknesses of the TWU strike, particularly its public relations approach in winning

the other workers to their position and gave examples of bitter words being said against the union by Negro and Puerto Rican workers.

PHIL BAFT indicated his analysis of the STOKES campaign in Cleveland. BAFT's participation paralleled his own article in "Political Affairs" dealing with this question.

[redacted] spoke of the problems of the class approach in the youth movement, indicating that the youth movement tends to cut across class lines. He also emphasized the necessity for more ideological activity in the youth field because of the many different opinions that are rampant in youth work, including the Party youth as well as non-Party youth.

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WILL WINSTON spoke emphasizing the problem of labor bureaucracy and the necessity for a struggle against it.

HENRY WINSTON only spoke to indicate since some speaker had mentioned the Comintern letter of the 1930's which was addressed to the American CP when they were members, indicating that they should turn toward the working class. WINSTON, in his remarks, said very briefly that we should not have any more reference to that period.

After WINSTON spoke, the meeting was then taken over by [redacted] who indicated that although an evening session had

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been scheduled; it was his feeling that the meeting should recess until Sunday morning at 10 o'clock since many comrades were tired from travel. The reason the meeting was scheduled for 10 o'clock Sunday was to allow time for some states to meet with individuals in the National Office. The meeting then recessed until 10 o'clock Sunday morning.

On Sunday, January 16, 1966, the discussion continued with WILLIAM PATTERSON as the first speaker. PATTERSON indicated his agreement with the report and suggested that the section on labor be extracted for a separate pamphlet. PATTERSON further emphasized the struggle against white chauvinism, this time that it be an outward struggle. PATTERSON also gave an estimate of the BOND case in Georgia.

MICKEY LIMA indicated the necessity for recruiting and gave limited experiences in that regard, and he too emphasized HALL's point on labor and gave some experiences in California in that regard.

IRV ROTASH emphasized labor as the key for the future of the country, and if we had acted on a resolution the Party issued in October, we would have been in a better position today. The existence of labor bureaucracy is not the main problem expending our weaknesses, but negative attitudes toward

labor in our ranks is a big factor. He agreed with the fact that the TWU strike was positive and also agreed that its public relations work was the weakest.

JOE BRANDT indicated that he was disappointed in estimates of the TWU strike because they did not include what role the Party played, if any. In his opinion, the Party was extremely weak in this regard. There was no policy statement regarding to TWU.

BRANDT then indicated that there had been 400,000 subscriptions for the paper in 1968, but this was offset by a drop of 350 in bundle sales. This was explained by him because people no longer are willing to carry the paper around from door to door. There has been a slow building of the paper in the South with an increase of about 150 subscriptions, no time limit given, mainly through efforts of GEORGE MEYERS. In December, following the Supreme Court decision, there were approximately 250 new subscriptions and renewals.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT indicated that the biggest problem facing the Party is how to implement the report of GUS WALL. He too emphasized the emphasis on the working class and mentioned that the civil rights movement will come to a standstill unless the working class moves in and participates! He also

emphasized the necessity for the civil rights and peace movements to get into politics and this too cannot be realized without labor's help. Lastly, labor has not sufficiently analyzed the role of the Federal Government in breaking their unions. LIGHTFOOT also reported on a newspaper article that indicated conferences on the extension and quality of Negro office holders were being held in California and New York, and he emphasized the necessity for the Party trying to stimulate such conferences all over the country.

[redacted] spoke on the McCarran Act indicating gains made on the fight for civil liberties.

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HELEN WINTER spoke of the necessity for the Party membership and leadership to fight harder.

PAUL NOVICK (from the national group movement and from New York) indicated in his remarks how the ultra-right has made inroads in the national group community and gave a speech on all of the Nazi collaborators who are now residents of the United States.

There was a [redacted] who spoke who is now the District Organizer for Oregon.

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HY LUMER was given the floor to explain the draft resolution. Copies of the draft resolution had been passed.

out to the participants as they entered the hall. Each resolution was numbered and the understanding was made that the draft resolution was not to be taken from the meeting. Each person was responsible for returning the resolution at the end of the meeting. HY LUMER indicated that the problem with preparing a draft resolution for the forthcoming convention had been complicated by the issuance of the Party program. He further clarified that the draft resolution that was passed out at the meeting was not for discussion anywhere but in the National Committee. LUMER indicated that the draft had been previously discussed by the National Board. There were some questions as to why a draft resolution should be issued when the Party was already issuing its program. LUMER indicated that the issuance of a draft resolution officially is supposed to evaluate the period of Party work between conventions. Since we have not had a convention in several years, this further complicated the formulation. The Party is an organization that bases its program on science and, therefore, our policy has to reflect what the Party wants to focus on doing during this immediate period. The program gives long range solutions to problems and the draft resolution tries to focus and evaluate the work of the Party and the task before it for

a short period of time. The discussion in the National Board reflected the following opinions:

First, that the draft resolution did not capture the excitement of the current peace and civil rights movements and, therefore, tended to be negative. It did not reflect the victories that have been achieved by the people, and it does not go far enough on citing the gains of the Party. It should have more on the goals of the Party as a guide to action. It does not deal with monopoly and state monopoly Capitalism. It does not adequately review the work of the Party in the past. It needs more explanation on the fight against the ultra-right. The resolution completely omits any discussion of the Soviet-Chinese differences. It does not deal with the terror against the Negro people in the South. And lastly, LUMIN indicated the resolution does not deal with the problems of the Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. There was one section of the draft resolution as proposed that was completely amended by the National Board, and that was the section dealing with the rank and file movement within the labor movement. The conclusions of the National Board were that although there are problems with having both the program and the draft resolution presented so close together, it was necessary to have a Party

draft resolution. Therefore, the National Committee is asked to authorize the National Secretariat to issue a draft resolution for discussion in the Party; and for the National Secretariat to be authorized to decide on the proper time for its issuance. The pre-convention discussion, however, will open with the Party program.

The meeting then adjourned with the understanding that some people would have to leave; however, for those who could remain, the discussion would continue on GUS HALL's report and the draft resolution Monday, January 17, 1966, in the morning from 9 until 12. The meeting was recessed early Sunday in order to allow the National Committee members to attend the rally at Manhattan Center where HERB APPHEKIN and the other two who went to Hanoi were reporting. The meeting adjourned officially at 12:30 p.m., Sunday, January 16, 1966.

It was further learned that JIM JACKSON has been replaced as editor of "The Worker" by CARL WINTER, to go into effect immediately. JIM JACKSON is being relieved and re-assigned to write a book dealing with the Party's position on the Negro question. This will be his major and sole pre-occupation for at least two years. He is to organize the work and to mobilize help in its writing.

It was also learned that there was some struggle in the National Board with regard to who would take over the editorial position on the paper. The opposition lineup seemed to be GIL GREEN and DOROTHY HEALY on the one hand, and JIM JACKSON, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and GUS HALL on the other as the main spokesmen. GIL GREEN wanted AL RICHMOND as the editor, and JIM JACKSON indicated he would not support that idea. It was resolved in favor of CARL WINTER. There seems to be some difficulty in working with GREEN on the part of some of the other members of the National Board. They felt that GREEN is arrogant and dictatorial and unyielding in his positions.

**File—Serial Charge Out**

FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83475-1 GPO

File: 100-153735-215-16 Date: 5/25/17

Class.	Case No.	Last Serial
<input type="checkbox"/> Pending	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Closed	Date Charged
Serial No.	Description of Serial	

Serial sent to Bureau, per  
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,  
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.  
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.

Section #23

**Employee**

## RECHARGE

Date \_\_\_\_\_

To \_\_\_\_\_ From \_\_\_\_\_

**From:** \_\_\_\_\_

Initials of  
G. C.

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Date Charged

**Employee**

**Location**

File—Serial Charge Out  
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

048-16-83475-1 GPO

### Section #23

**Employee**

RECHARGE

Date

To \_\_\_\_\_ From \_\_\_\_\_

Initials of  
clerk

三

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Date Charged

**- Employee**

### **Location**



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia  
January 19, 1966

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 03-03-2012

~~SECRET~~

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On January 17, 1966, a confidential source advised HARRY WACHTEL inquired of Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), whether he would be able to attend a function on March 11, 1966, in the New York City area. WACHTEL said this function would be a "parlor type" meeting at which "they" could expect to raise \$25,000. Reverend KING told WACHTEL he would attend this function.

WACHTEL went on to explain to Reverend KING that [redacted] b6 who he said is connected with the Democratic b7C National Committee, would probably attend this function.

Reverend KING said that [redacted] had sponsored some programs (not explained) for him in the past, but he had heard that [redacted] recently stated that while he had been an admirer of his, he was very disappointed with his views regarding Viet Nam.

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WACHTEL said he would talk to [redacted] in effort to induce him to attend the aforementioned meeting in order that Reverend KING would have opportunity to talk with him. WACHTEL commented "when we went into this Viet Nam thing, we decided that he who controls the purse strings doesn't control our philosophy."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~  
GROUP I  
EXCLUDED FROM  
AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING  
AND DECLASSIFICATION

100-153735-2118

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>(initials)</i>	FILED <i>(initials)</i>
JAN 21 1966	
FBI-NEW YORK	

*(initials)*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia  
January 19, 1966

Title	MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
Character	SECURITY MATTER - C
Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above at Atlanta, Georgia

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions  
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to  
your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed  
outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 1/19/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM - C  
Atlanta file 100-5586  
Bufile 100-106670  
*100-151548\**  
CIRM  
Atlanta file 100-6670  
Bufile 100-442529

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8 copies  
and for New York 3 copies LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is AT 1381-S\*.

Sources used to characterize WACHTEL are Anonymous  
Source of WFO set out in report of SA [redacted] 7/19/50,  
at WFO re "NLG; IS-C" and NY 1190-S\*.

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If the information from AT 1381-S\* is utilized for  
lead purposes, care should be taken not to jeopardize the  
source.

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because  
it contains information from a highly sensitive source with  
respect to the racial situation in the Atlanta area. It is  
felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize  
the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information  
of this nature.

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)  
(3- 100-106670)  
(1- 100-442529)
- 3 - New York (Enc. 8) (RM)  
(1- 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- 3 - Atlanta  
(1- 100-5586)

AGS:cb (1- 100-6670)  
(10) (1- 100-6670A)

Approved: JKP crw Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

100-153735-219

SEARCHED	16	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	10	FILED
JAN 21 1966		
FBI-NEW YORK		

F B I

Date: 1/20/66

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPEURGENT

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM

NY FOUR ZERO NINE TWO-S\* ON ONE TWENTY SIXTY-SIX, ADVISED

[REDACTED] TOLD CLARENCE JONES, AN ADVISOR TO THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JUNIOR, THAT HE HAD TALKED TO ROCKEFELLER (GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK) ON ONE NINETEEN SIXTY-SIX WITH THESE RESULTS: [REDACTED] HAS "THE INSIDE TRACK" AND WILL BE NAMED MOMENTARILY AS THE GOVERNOR'S ADVISOR ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND CIVIL RIGHTS. THE OUTGROWTH OF THIS WILL BE WITH WALKER COORDINATING A CONFERENCE IN HARLEM (TIME NOT SPECIFIED) TO DISINTEGRATE THE GHETTO AND WHICH WOULD INVOLVE THE FEDERAL, STATE AND CITY GOVERNMENTS. [REDACTED] CONFIDED THAT JONES WOULD BE ONE OF HIS SPECIAL ASSISTANTS AND ON THE GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION. [REDACTED] CONTINUED THAT A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AND BAYARD RUSTIN WOULD BE AMONG THOSE IN THE SMALL NUCLEUS OF THE OPERATION.

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1-Supervisor (#42)

TJD:kxb  
(2)

(A)

(B)

100-153735-2124

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ qpm Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
  
 Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Type in plaintext or code)*Via \_\_\_\_\_  
*(Priority)*

PAGE TWO

NY 100-153735

[redacted] SAID HE EXPECTS THAT HE IS PRECIPITATING THE  
"ARMAGEDON" WITH ADAM (REPRESENTATIVE ADAM POWELL) BUT HE  
BELIEVES HE IS READY (FOR HIM).

b6  
b7cApproved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

**File—Serial Charge Out**  
**FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)**

c43-16-83475-1 GPO

File	<u>100</u>	Case No.	<u>153735</u>	Date	<u>5/23/77</u>
Class.				Last Serial	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Pending		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Closed		
Serial No.	Description of Serial			Date Charged	
<u>2121-2120</u>	Serial sent to Bureau, per				
<u>2123-2122</u>	Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,				
	titled; Bernard S. Lee v.				
	Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.				

## Section #23

**Employee**

## RECHARGE

Date

To \_\_\_\_\_ From \_\_\_\_\_

Initials of  
Clerk

Date { \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Date Charged**

## **Employee**

### **Location**



DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FEI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 03-05-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
January 20, 1966

Bureau 100-3-69

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Organization  
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 15, 1966, that beginning at 10:00 AM on that date, and continuing through January 17, 1966, an enlarged meeting of the National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), and invited guests, was held in the Laurentian Room of the Hotel Wellington, located at 55th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City.

First Day's Session  
January 15, 1966

This source advised that James Jackson acted as Chairman for the session. The meeting was opened by Henry Winston, who called for a minute of silence in memory of deceased CPUSA functionaries.

Mortimer Daniel Rubin announced that the two main points on the agenda of the meeting would be a discussion of the current political situation by Gus Hall and a report on the Party Program.

Gus Hall then spoke and stressed the necessity of making final arrangements for public release of the Party Program. He noted that it would be ready for public release by approximately February 1, 1966.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

④ JAN 20, 1966  
⑤

100-153735-2/25

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: CPUSA-Organization  
Internal Security - C

Continuing, Hall stated that a financial decision must be made concerning holding a CPUSA National Convention in the near future, and concerning the Party's "stepping out publicly on the political scene."

Hall then discussed the situation in Vietnam, stating that the United States of America (USA) is becoming isolated--that the USA's allies do not desire to associate themselves with USA policy in Vietnam. He mentioned the growing peace movement in the USA, and the people's growing discontent with the USA policy in Vietnam.

Hall further discussed the necessity of the Party's concentrating on the labor movement in the USA, on mass propaganda, and becoming active in "all people's movements." The Party's "new freedom" as a result of recent court decisions, should be reflected in the Party press and in Communist Party (CP) literature generally. The "legality" of the Party must be stressed continuously.

Hall noted that Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director J. Edgar Hoover recently announced that there has been "growth" in the Party. According to Hall, the immediate future must be a period of "reconstruction and rehabilitation" of the Party. Party members are unnecessarily afraid of the people, who, they believe, still view the Party with suspicion. All high-level committees must be revived and able Party spokesmen must be developed.

The Party must struggle against "white chauvinism." The next CPUSA convention "must reflect politics and all that goes with it." Pre-convention discussion must be "free and unfettered."

Following the above discussion by Hall, 15 people at the meeting took the floor and expressed approval of Hall's remarks.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 16, 1966, that Gus Hall's basic premise was that everything in the United

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Re: CPUSA-Organization  
Internal Security - C

States favors the growth of the Party and the Party must grasp the opportunity to start moving ahead. Hall called for renewed activity and work in trade unions, among liberal and working class groups.

This second source advised that approximately 15 speakers commented favorably on Hall's report. There followed an announcement that the Party will hold a four to five day Convention around June 25, 1966. This date was selected in order to enable more students to attend the Convention. The Convention would be attended by approximately 300 delegates, 150 alternate delegates and 500 invitees.

Second Day's Session  
January 16, 1966

The first source advised that Dorothy Healey presided as Chairman for this session, which continued only until 12:30 PM. Hyman Lumer discussed the document on "General Political Resolution" and "Pre-Convention Document." The source stated that as a result of a general discussion, it was decided that changes in the document would have to be made.

Third Day's Session  
January 17, 1966

The first source advised that the final session was held on January 17, 1966. Philip Bart acted as Chairman.

At the morning session there was further discussion of Gus Hall's report, and of the document referred to as the "General Political Resolution" or "Pre-Convention Document." Mortimer Daniel Rubin then made motions to endorse Gus Hall's report and Hyman Lumer's report on the pre-convention resolution, both motions being carried unanimously. With respect to the motion on the pre-convention resolution, the CPUSA Secretariat was authorized "to complete the resolution, finalize it, and give it to the membership." The date when the resolution should be publicized was left to the discretion of the Secretariat.

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Re: CPUSA-Organization  
Internal Security - C

At the afternoon session, Roscoe Proctor was Chairman. Proctor introduced Herbert Aptheker, who spoke briefly of his visit to Hanoi, and then answered questions concerning the same. He said that the CP in North Vietnam was "delighted" to meet a representative from the CPUSA, and that he had taken necessary steps to establish and insure close relations between the CPUSA and the CP of North Vietnam. While in Hanoi, he and his associates--(redacted) and [redacted] met the Secretary of the North Vietnam CP, and also the Premier of North Vietnam. They did not meet HO Chi-minh, the President of North Vietnam, who was "out of town celebrating the Chinese New Year." Also, while in Hanoi, Aptheker, [redacted] and [redacted] were interviewed by a representative of the "New York Times." In two weeks, this publication will contain an article concerning him and his visit to Hanoi.

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As a result of his and his associates trip to Hanoi, plans are being made for them to lecture at various cities throughout the United States. People making arrangements for these lectures are being advised that all three should be invited at the same time.

According to Aptheker, he has written nine articles on Hanoi, which will be published in "The Worker".

After Aptheker finished his remarks, he was given an ovation by those present. He was told that he rendered a valuable service to the CPUSA in having gone to Hanoi.

Hyman Lumer then discussed the Party Program, which will appear in a 128-page paper book, the proposed title of which is "New Program of CPUSA," with the subtitle, "A Draft." The book, which should be ready for distribution on or about February 15, 1966, will be sold for 95 cents, but CP organizations may buy it for 25 or 30 cents. The first printing will consist of 50,000 copies.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: CPUSA-Organization  
Internal Security - C

Lumer further stated that at a meeting of CP District representatives on the previous evening, it was agreed that \$10,000 must be raised for the Party program, \$85,000 for "The Worker," \$10,000 for the election campaign, and \$30,000 for the next convention. Money would also have to be raised for youth work and for defense, no specific recommendations having been made, however, as to these items.

Joe Brandt reported on "The Worker" drive, stating that the paper is seeking 3,000 new subscriptions and 1,000 renewals. He said the January 23, 1966 issue of "The Worker" would furnish detailed information regarding "The Worker" drive.

Gus Hall then summarized the agenda and expressed his appreciation to the Program Committee, consisting of James Jackson, Gil Green, Hyman Lumer, Carl Winter and Al Richmond. He thanked Aptheker for the latter's excellent report on Hanoi and for having established with the North Vietnam CP better relations, of which Hall hoped the CPUSA would take advantage. Hall also stressed the need for rehabilitation of the Party, and for the CP's working in the trade unions. With regard to the next elections, he said domestic policy cannot be separated from foreign policy, and that the CPUSA cannot be compromised with candidates favoring USA foreign policy.

Henry Winston then made a short speech in praise of James Jackson and Carl Winter. He formally announced what had been decided at an Executive Board meeting--that Carl Winter would replace James Jackson as Editor of "The Worker". Jackson, he stated, would resign in order that he might write a book. Carl Winter, he stated, was becoming Editor of "The Worker" immediately.

Danny Rubin then announced that the next CPUSA convention would be held in New York City, between June 23 and 26, 1966. In attendance at the convention would be 300 delegates, 100 alternates, and 300 guests who would not be CP members. The purpose of inviting 300 non-Party guests was to create the impression that the convention was not essentially a CP convention. Further, by having 300 non-Party guests present,

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Re: CPUSA-Organization  
Internal Security - C

the effect would be to confuse the government as to who was, or was not, a CP member among all present at the convention. On opening night, it was planned to have a mass meeting of several thousand at the convention. The "formal official convention call" would be made on February 15, 1966.

Before the convention, there would be a number of "referendums." Delegates would be chosen on the basis of dues payments between October 1, 1965 and March 31, 1966.

Since it is anticipated that the cost of holding the convention will be about \$30,000, the meeting voted approval of "a convention assessment," amounting to three months' dues per member.

A resolution was passed at the meeting authorizing that delegates from fraternal parties be invited to the convention. The CPUSA Secretariat was authorized to decide how this matter should be handled.

The second confidential source advised the final session convened at 10:00 AM, and consisted largely of individual speakers commenting on the main report of Gus Hall, which was delivered during the first session. Speakers commented favorably on Hall's reiteration that the Party will develop a working class approach.

This source advised that Herbert Aptheker, a member of the CP National Committee, and who recently returned from North Vietnam, addressed the meeting. Aptheker apparently met with the Central Committee of the North Vietnam CP, which was happy to have established contact with the United States CP. According to Aptheker, the North Vietnam CP encourages the use of any and all slogans to increase protest activity in America against the role of the United States in the Vietnam area.

The second source stated the final session came to an end after having passed resolutions calling for a fund drive for "The Worker", adoption of the CP Program and the calling of a National Convention.

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Re: CPUSA-Organization  
Internal Security - C

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

[redacted] was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 13, 1953, during which time he stated that though he had never been a member of the Communist Party, he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the fall of 1946, on the campus at Harvard University. He said that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the campus and that he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947.

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[redacted] further advised that while at Harvard University he had been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948. He said that approximately one year during this period he had served as [redacted] of the John Reed Club.

The AYD has been cited pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the John Reed Clubs of the United States is contained in the appendix attached.

The "National Guardian" of November 13, 1965, page 2, stated that [redacted] was among the guests on the dais at the 17th Anniversary Dinner of the "National Guardian" held November 5, 1965, at the Hotel Americana, New York City. The November 13, 1965 issue of the "National Guardian" described [redacted] as [redacted] since 1964 of the Newark Community Union Project and one of the [redacted] of the Students For a Democratic Society.

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A characterization of the "National Guardian" is contained in the appendix hereto.

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Re: CPUSA-Organization  
Internal Security - C

1.

APPENDIX

JOHN REED CLUBS OF THE UNITED STATES

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the John Reed Clubs of the United States:

- "1. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the COMMUNIST PARTY is clear beyond dispute.' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 10.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: CPUSA-Organization  
Internal Security - C

1.

APPENDIX

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., reflects the following on Page 193 regarding the "National Guardian":

"1. Established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly \* \* \*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia. (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 1/20/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
CINAL  
(OO: NY)

Re New York teletypes 1/15, 16, 18/66, and New York  
airtels, dated 1/17 and 18/66, concerning three day National  
Committee, CPUSA meeting, held at the Hotel Wellington, NYC,  
1/15-17/66.

- 4 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Encls. 7) (RM)  
(1 - 100-3-81) (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- 2 - Baltimore (100-12464) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-18953) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
(1 - 134-46)
- 2 - Cleveland (Encls. 2) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (PHIL BART)
- 2 - Denver (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-26044) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (DOROTHY HEALEY)
- 2 - Miami (100- ) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (ROSCOE PROCTOR)
- 1 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-269) (HENRY WINSTON) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-128255) (MORTIMER DANIEL RUBIN) (42)

100-153735-2126

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
JAN 20 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]*

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - New York (100-80641) (42)

HCO:gmd  
(37)

Approved: *[Signature]* Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-80641

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1 - New York { 100-80640) (CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION) (42)  
1 - New York { 100-86624) (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (42)  
1 - New York { 100-105078) (HYMAN LUMER) (42)  
1 - New York { 100-80644) (CPUSA-YOUTH MATTERS) (42)  
1 - New York { 100-110521) [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - New York { 100-148904) [REDACTED] (43)  
1 - New York { 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (42)  
1 - New York { 100-27539) (CARL WINTER) (42)  
1 - New York { 100-89691) (CPUSA-DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES) (42)  
1 - New York { 100-74560) (CPUSA-FUNDS) (42)  
1 - New York { 97-169) (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (42)  
1 - New York { 100-15828) [REDACTED] (42)  
1 - New York { 100-13472) (GIL GREEN) (42)

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NY 100-80641

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) concerning this meeting.

First source utilized was CG 5824-S\*.  
Second source utilized was [redacted]

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This memorandum has been classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information from the above two sources, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CPUSA, and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

The Special Agents of the FBI who interviewed [redacted] were [redacted] and [redacted] then of the [redacted] Atlanta Office.

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# Terror in the South Stands Against The Negroes March Toward Equality

By GEORGE MEYERS

THE USE of terror and other methods of intimidation continues to be a major weapon of Southern racists in their efforts to nullify the mass demands of Southern Negroes for freedom. Now,

it is common knowledge that Southern administration responsible for law enforcement, lack the courage, desire, or ability to curb the continuing outrages. That is, why the American people gave the Federal Government an overwhelming mandate to guarantee some semblance of democracy in the South. This mandate was made unquestionably clear with the defeat of Goldwaterism in the last presidential election, and by massive demonstrations in Washington, D. C., and every other part of the country.

The failure of the Federal Government to respond to this mandate and vigorously combat the terror directed against civil rights advocates, in particular, and Southern Negroes in general, has become a burning national disgrace.

Responding to mass pressure, important legislation was sponsored by the Johnson administration and passed by Congress to outlaw discrimination and segregation in public schools and public accommodations. The right to vote has been reinforced. But as

CLIPPING FROM  
THE WORKER

DATE 1/16  
1/17 AM 3:27

100-153735-2127

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>CD</i>	FILED <i>CD</i>
JAN 19 1968	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*CP*

one Southern Negro put it to me in Birmingham: "What's the use of passing laws in Washington if the Government isn't doing something about the Klan and Citizens' Councils down here in Alabama and Mississippi?"

**IN TIGHT-LIPPED ANGER** in tones of explosive frustration, Civil Rights workers and Negro leaders talk of the Federal Government's reluctance to act. One spokesman in the South, Georgia, summed up the thinking of many when he told me that in his opinion, "President Johnson is more concerned about support from the likes of Eastland, River and Russell, for his war in Vietnam, than he is about fighting the Klan."

There is much more talk about the Deacons for Defense, an possibility of extending the use of self-defense committee, but non-violent resistance remains the basic tactic of the Freedom Movement.

It would take volumes to detail the acts of terror and repression that have been perpetrated since the fight for civil rights became a mass movement in the South. There are thousands of cases of blacklisting of Negro workers and tenant farmers who insisted on registering to vote, sending their children to decent schools, integrating public facilities, participating in county Farm Committee elections, or who "think integration" in any way. Hundreds of Negro teachers have been fired. Negro farmers and businessmen who refuse to denounce the civil rights movement are often cut off from credit and supplies. Murder, arson and floggings are all too common.

**A PETITION** recently sent to President Johnson by a number of religious leaders urged him to reactivate the Warren Commission to investigate the breakdown of law and order in the South. It pointed out that in two years, eleven people connected with civil rights work have been murdered in Alabama alone.

A number of Southern whites who have expressed support for Negro rights in even the most tentative way, have been isolated or driven out of the community. Many others, who earlier expressed a willingness to cooperate with Federal civil rights laws, have retreated in the face of this unchallenged terror.

Violence is more rampant in those rural counties with a majority Negro population, but the cities do not escape. Recent bombings of the homes of N.A.A.C.P. leaders in Charlotte, N. C., and the burning of the Southern Conference Educational Fund headquarters in Knoxville, Tenn., proves this only too well.

**A BRIEF OUTLINE** of recent happenings in Natchez, Miss., will indicate the problems in many other areas in the South.

Natchez is a Mississippi River town of 23,700 people—12,300 Negroes and 11,400 whites. It is the seat of Adams County, which is about equally divided between Negro and white. All city and county political offices are held by whites. Three major industries dominate Natchez—the International Paper Co., Johns-Manville Corp., and the Sears-Roebuck controlled Armstrong Tire and Rubber Co. Not a single official of these companies has ever spoken out against the outrages I am about to relate.

The Southern Reporting Service has recorded over a dozen serious acts of violence in a two year period since Aug. 20, 1963,

when a S.N.C.C. worker was illegally arrested and beaten thru Aug. 27, 1965, when George Metcalfe, local NAACP president, was seriously injured by a bomb which was detonated when he started his car in the parking lot of the Armstrong Tire and Rubber Co., where he worked. Mr. Metcalfe was still in the hospital in November, and civil rights spokesmen told me he would most probably be paralyzed for life.

The report says that in this period a Negro, Clifford Walker, was found murdered. Negro and white civil rights workers were beaten and shot at; and Negro churches, homes and places of business were fire-bombed. It concludes in this melancholy fashion: "We have not recorded the smaller attempts at harassment and intimidation, arrests of workers on charges of auto theft or speeding, etc., the threats to those local people who attempted to register or attended mass meetings, and innumerable other forms of intimidation. Also unrecorded are the many other killings and mailings which must be kept secret by those whose mouths have been sealed by fear."

A RECENT booklet issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (Law Enforcement - A Re-



port on Equal Protection in the South, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Wash., D. C., 20402, Price, 75c.) further illuminates conditions in Natchez. "From Sept. 11, 1963, to Sept. 1964, four Adams County Negroes were whipped and a civil rights worker assaulted; one Negro was shot and seriously injured; and at least one Negro was murdered." There were a number of cross burnings and attempts at arson." "Four

churches and a cafe were destroyed by arson." On Sept. 26, 1964, the homes of the Mayor of Natchez and a prominent Negro contractor were bombed.

Page 16 of the Report describes the ordeal of Alfred Whitley, a 52 year old Negro janitor. Mr. Whitley was stopped by a gang of white men on the way home from his job at the Armstrong

(Continued on Page 8)

(Continued from page 7)  
The and Rubber Co. plant, and accused of being the "leading n-r in Natchez, in the N.A.A.C.P. and Masonic Lodge." After questioning him about other Negroes, and getting no satisfactory reply, "They beat him with a bull whip, lashed his face with a leather strap, and threatened to kill him with a shotgun. After the beating, Whitley was told to run, was shot at, but managed to escape. He required hospital treatment for his injuries."

★  
**ADAMS COUNTY** sheriff Odell Anders, and Natchez police chief J. T. Robinson did nothing to check the terror. But Chief Robinson did tell the Commission that he had attended a meeting of the Klan which he found very impressive. "I couldn't see anything that night that would make you think that they (the Klansmen) were anything but upstanding people." He also spoke at a meeting of "Americans for Preservation of the White Race."

The Chief managed to arrest his share of civil rights workers; however, warning one of them, Bruce Payton, that he could not be protected from the local residents, and that the police were armed, and if the civil rights workers caused any trouble, there would be "some slow walking and some sad singing."

Not a single person has ever been brought to justice for any of these crimes. In each case the F.B.I. and Justice Department were notified, and to the best knowledge of people concerned, that's where it ended.

★  
**CIVIL RIGHTS** activity in Natchez had been at a minimum, (undoubtedly due to the terror), but after the attempted murder of Mr. Metcalfe, there began a series of mass marches protesting discrimination and segregation. On September 30th, an injunction was handed down against the leaders of SNCC, SCLC and the N.A.A.C.P., which forbade them to participate, or encourage others to participate, in any sort of demonstrations. Within a week,

over 500 people were arrested for violating this injunction. Most were transported to Parchman State Penitentiary over 200 miles away, where they were subjected to indignities and brutality. The men were forced to strip naked, and herded into cold cell-blocks without mattresses or bed-clothing. The women had to remove their outer garments and were placed in similar quarters. All were forced to take laxatives or face a beating, then denied toilet paper or proper toilet facilities.

According to a Natchez high school girl, "When we started singing freedom songs, the man told us to stop or he would open all the windows and turn on the fans. We told him we didn't care because we couldn't get any colder," adding, "I couldn't because I had to sleep on the floor anyway, and it was freezing. The iron beds were just as cold as the floor. It made me want to fight for freedom more, no matter what happened to me."

Natchez Negroes then began a boycott against the downtown merchants, crossing the Mississippi to Vidalia, La., to do most of their shopping. The local "Power Structure" decided to retaliate by firing every Negro worker. It began with the discharge of domestic workers, but on Nov. 5th, when the lay-offs were to become total, the Chambers of Commerce called a meeting and the companies and businessmen backed down. (Civil Rights threats to counter the discharges with a nation-wide boycott against Sears-Roebuck may have influenced this retreat.)

Since I was in Mississippi, a compromise was reached and the boycott was called off, but the boycott was reinstated following acts of police brutality a few days before Christmas.

"The merchants can't make an agreement with us and then stand by and see us beaten down in the streets and do nothing," is the way the Mississippi N.A.A.C.P. head was quoted in a N.Y. Times story.

★  
**LEFLORE COUNTY, Miss.** of

which Greenwood is the county seat, is notorious for its maltreatment of Negro and white civil rights advocates.

The following is a report of the death of a young Negro farm worker who had no connection with the Freedom Movement but was murdered allegedly as part of the campaign of terror.

Fred Lee Thomas was a teenage cotton chopper who lived in a farm community near Greenwood. Last summer his remains were found in a badly mutilated condition along Highway 49, between Greenwood and Sidon. A local paper said the body was badly beaten but that the cause of death was unknown. Friends who saw the body said a gunshot wound was visible.

An autopsy was performed without the knowledge of the family, and a coroner's jury quickly decided it was a simple case of hit-and-run. When the parents went to claim their son's body for burial, they were told it was so badly mutilated the coroner had already ordered it buried.

It happened, however, that a witness saw the body of Fred Thomas thrown from a car which drove off, returned and ran over the body, then dragged it for some distance. In fear of his life, the witness went to Miss Liz Fusco, a worker for the Miss. Freedom Democratic Party, and is said to have given her a description of the murder car and the names of its three occupants.

Miss Fusco then talked with the Greenwood F.B.I. agents, but withheld the name of the witness. She suggested the F.B.I. talk to people in the Negro community for verification of the story. This the F.B.I. refused to do, but they did threaten Miss Fusco with arrest for refusing to give them the name of her informant. She called the Washington office of the F.B.I. but got no satisfaction in that quarter either. (Miss Fusco has expressed distrust of the F.B.I. claiming that when she went to work for the M.F.D.P. in Greenwood, an agent came by and asked her what subversive organizations she belonged to.)

JAMES HOOPER, a plantation owner, is head of the local Klan. People in the community claim his son is one of those actively engaged in intimidating local Negroes in an effort to keep them from registering to vote.

To date, the Ku Klux Klan and other murderous elements, whether they call themselves the "Anti-Communist Christian Association," as in Bogalusa, the National States Rights Party as in Alabama, or what have you, have found little to fear from the Department of Justice, the F.B.I., or southern Federal Marshals.

The Johnson administration continues to talk of "Voluntary Compliance" in the face of this terror, and refuses to use the power it has at hand. For instance, Title 10, Section 333 of the U.S. Code gives the President power to "suppress domestic violence" thru the use of "the militia or armed forces or any other means."

The FBI, which doesn't mind chasing petty bank robbers and car thieves all over the country, and searching for "subversives" in the Labor, Civil Rights, and Peace Movements, says it is an "investigative agency" when it comes to protecting the civil rights of Negroes.

Every U.S. marshal in the South is white, except for a tiny handful of Negro deputies. Charges are made that these marshals co-operate with racist police. There is at least one photo of U.S. marshals throwing civil rights demonstrators off Federal property and into the waiting arms of local police.

★

**IT IS THE DUTY** of the Government of the United States to protect all its citizens in their efforts to secure the rights and benefits guaranteed them by the Constitution and by Federal legislation. President Johnson and the Department of Justice must use the authority they possess to put an end to the wave of terror in the South. If this is not done, the gains being made in some areas will be badly blunted, and cancelled out altogether in others.

There is much discussion in the Civil Rights Movement as to what demands should be made to President Johnson and members of Congress. Here are some proposals for the consideration of readers of *The Worker*:

1. Enforce the present laws authorizing the President to take action against the violence in the South.

2. Enforce the existing law, which makes it a crime to discriminate in the selection of juries. (Enacted 1874, never used.)

3. Enact enabling legislation at the coming session of Congress that will reinforce the power of the Federal Government to prevent or punish crimes of racial violence. For instance, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in its previously mentioned report makes several recommendations. One of them is that Congress amend the Civil Rights Law to give the Attorney General the authority to initiate proceedings to protect persons exercising First Amendment rights. It also proposes the U.S. Code to be amended to make any county, city or local government jointly liable with any officer it employs who deprives a person of his Constitutional Rights.

4. The Commission also proposes that the President make more use of Federal law enforcement officers in the South, among other things, ordering them to make on the scene arrests for violation of Federal laws. To implement this recommendation, FBI agents who have failed to act against the terrorists should be replaced with Negro and white agents able and willing to do so. Let President Johnson appoint some Negro marshals, and substantially increase the number of Negro Deputy marshals.

5. Racist Federal judges, appointed by President Johnson and his predecessors at the behest of Dixiecrat politicians, should be replaced with Negro and white judges who will abide by their oath to uphold and defend the Constitution. At present, there is not a single Negro judge in a Southern court.

# To Most Southern Negro Children

## Integration Is Still Only a Dream

By GEORGE A. MEYERS

THE RELUCTANCE of the Department of Justice to effectively challenge organized terror in the South is equalled by its reluctance to enforce the Civil Rights legislation this terror is attempting to nullify. As a result, school integration remains a sorry failure, places of public accommodation continue segregated in large areas, and registration is moving at a snail's pace in most counties with a history of hardcore resistance to Negro Voting rights.

Wishful thinkers, who hope this situation will clear itself up with a minimum of urging by the Federal Government had better take another look. As I write this, there are reports of a hundred crosses burning in Mississippi, and the murder of a civil rights worker in Alabama. Southern diehards say that the Civil Rights laws have no more validity than did Prohibition, and that with a few more years of opposition, they will meet the same fate as the Volstead Act.

A look at conditions in the South's public schools proves the bankruptcy of the policy of "voluntary compliance" which up to now has characterized federal enforcement of Civil Rights laws.

### INFLATED FIGURE

In September, many people expressed a feeling of satisfaction when the nation's press gave wide publicity to a report that as high as 20 percent of the South's Negro children were finally getting a chance to secure an equal education in integrated schools.

This figure soon proved to be greatly exaggerated. In October, the Office of Education (O. E.) reduced the estimate to about 7½ percent, indicating 216,000 Negro students in formerly all

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white schools: Texas, with 81,700 (20 percent) was included, although most people consider that state a part of the Southwest.

The Southern Regional Council (S.R.C.) then conducted an independent survey, and in a hard-hitting report, reduced the Government figures even farther. In the ten Southern states, S.R.C. found 76,076 out of a total of 2,542,300 Negro students in integrated schools, leaving over 95 percent remaining in inferior Jim-Crow educational institutions almost twelve years after the Supreme Court declared segregated schools unconstitutional. (For the reader's information, there are 5,807,000 white students in these ten states.)

The O. of E. reported 15,300 out of 286,600 Negro students attending integrated schools in Alabama. But even this low figure was in error. A close count by S.R.C. could find no more than 717 — one-quarter of 1 percent.

In Mississippi, both reports agreed that only about 1,000 of that state's 274,900 Negro students are in integrated schools.

Of the 379,600 Negro students enrolled in the schools of the "enlightened state of North Carolina," only 8,000 are integrated, according to S.R.C. — two percent!

#### FEDERAL AID

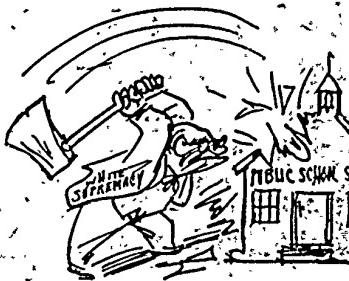
Federal aid to education amounts to 20 percent of the average school budget. Latest reports say about \$1,400,000,000 is earmarked for the South.

To be eligible under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Law, school districts must agree to end segregated schools. The O. of E. established rather loose guidelines within which Southern school superintendents promised to practice integration. The basic ingredient in plans they submitted as proof of their good

intentions was "Freedom of Choice." Deadlines on transfers were common.

This was supposed to make it possible for Negro parents to transfer their children from inferior, segregated schools to previously all-white schools, with higher educational standards.

While this method may be satisfactory in some Northern school districts, in the South it has been applied in a way to virtually



relieve Federal, State and local school authorities from their responsibilities to end segregated schools, leaving it up to the Negro people themselves to enforce the law thru their own efforts.

#### EXAMPLES

Following are a few examples of the way many school superintendents carried out their promises to abide by the law, and the terror that rewarded Negro parents trying to get their children a decent education.

In many places parents whose children had applied for transfers to previously all-white schools were called in by school superintendents and told that their children would probably come home "beaten-up" and the parents should hold themselves responsible. District school officials frequently resorted to subterfuge and trickery to prevent "Freedom of Choice." (Failure to notify Negro parents of early

deadlines on transfers was common.) Negro teachers were threatened with dismissal if Negro children transferred to white schools. Hundreds have been fired in reprisals despite a teacher shortage. (The National Education Association estimates 500.)

The names and addresses of parents requesting transfers for their children were published in the newspapers in a number of areas. In others, their employers were notified. The follow-up was a wave of blacklisting and hundreds of recorded and unrecorded acts of violence.

Many Negro children in integrated schools face insults and discrimination from both white pupils and teachers as part of the daily school routine.

#### SEPARATE CLASSES

In some "integrated" schools, Negro students are placed in separate classes or set back in their grades. Many classrooms have segregated seating arrangements and cloakroom facilities. It is common to see Negro and white children filing in separate columns to class, school assembly and gym.

While passing a modern grade school in St. Augustine, Fla., at recess time, I counted seven Negro children of varying ages. While most of the white children were playing together according to age groups, the Negro children, joined by two little white girls, were tossing a ball among themselves. While I was watching, a matronly teacher called the two little white girls to her and engaged them in conversation until the bell rang.

(A Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party report from Neshoba County, describing mistreatment of Negro pupils, says in part: "Two of the eleven Negro students who attend white schools

have now left because of harassment from other students. One was jumped by a group of white boys and had his teeth badly "messed up." That night a cross was burned in front of the church where his father is pastor. The other was hit by a white girl and returned it. She was suspended and her parents insisted she return to the Negro school."

The facsimile of a letter written by a Negro parent was printed in the previously mentioned Southern Regional Council report. It tells of the success in transferring fourteen Negro students to a previously all-white high school near Macon, Ga., but then goes on . . . "We are having a lot of trouble. My life has already been threatened. My brother's house has been shot into. So we both will have to take the children out of school and move somewhere else . . ."

#### NONE PENALIZED

In spite of the violations of the Civil Rights Law in many school districts which promised to integrate to qualify for federal funds, not a single one has had these funds cut off.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, John W. Gardner, was noticeably uncomfortable and evasive on a recent "Meet the Press" TV interview when questions were put to him about the South. Administrators in his Department who have advocated a stiffer stand against Southern racists have been down graded.

In a press conference, newly appointed Commissioner of Education, Harold Howell II, praised his predecessor, Francis Keppel, who was promoted by President Johnson, said a great deal has been done to end segregation in Southern schools, and supported the discredited "freedom of

(Continued on page 9)

## To Most Negro Children

(Continued from page 4)

"choice" method. Negro leaders immediately attacked him as "encouraging resistance by the most backward elements in the South . . . (and) shaking the little remaining confidence among your agency's friends."

The massive campaigns to integrate hotels, restaurants, theaters, sports centers and other areas of public accommodation have met with some success in the downtown centers of a number of Southern cities such as Richmond, Va., and Atlanta, Ga. But in many smaller towns and rural counties, the battle is a long way from being won.

#### TOKEN SERVICE

In some areas, restaurants have ostentatiously served visiting Negro and white civil rights test teams, but Negroes living in the locality have been warned against seeking the same services, "if you know what is good for you."

It is possible to drive through an entire black belt county and not find a single restaurant . . . only "clubs." To join, one must have a white skin and the price of a meal. Many highway restaurants are plastered with "White Only" signs.

Demonstrations and boycotts have forced the hiring of Negro clerks and cashiers in some of the larger department stores, food chains, and "ten cent stores." More Negroes are getting jobs in the local post office and other federal institutions. But the terrible poverty that afflicts large numbers of Negroes and whites in the rural counties continues unchecked.

Many county "fathers" put up strong resistance to establishing even surplus food programs and don't hesitate to express the firm opinion that such things would "spoil" Negro farm workers who are forced to labor from daylight till dark for three and four dollars a day in season. Negro leaders claim that directors of the "War on Poverty" in states like Mississippi are "out and out racists."

#### STILL RELUCTANT

Attorney General Katzenbach has been characteristically reluctant to enforce the 1965 Voter Registration Act in spite of a torrent of complaints accusing Southern election officials of foot-dragging. He continues to talk hopefully of "voluntary compliance." A joint delegation of Mississippi AFL-CIO and Negro leaders had to travel to Washington to demand that more federal registrars be sent into that state.

There have been some complaints about federal registrars.

"A Negro leader in one county said they kept 'bankers' hours,' but they are registering fifteen Negro voters for every one being registered by local election officials. In four Mississippi and Alabama counties over 50 percent of the registered voters are now Negroes, with the help of the registrars. But as of this writing, they have been sent into only 36 of the 364 Southern counties covered by the Voter Registration Act. Over 160 of which have a Negro majority in the population."

#### DISSATISFACTION

Needless to say, there is great dissatisfaction with the irresolute way the Justice Department and other Federal agencies are enforcing the civil rights laws. The lead editorial in the Jan. 4 edition of the Baltimore Afro-American blistered the latest Katzenbach directive for enforcing Title VI. "Stripped of its high sounding legalistic language, it advised twenty-one federal agencies to talk big, but act very, very slow when it comes to cutting off funds from government-assisted programs." Title VI, the effective weapon with which Congress by an overwhelming vote armed federal agencies to combat racial discrimination has been tossed aside and will be used only with extreme reluctance by Mr. Katzenbach's department. That means it probably will not be used at all."

The Afro goes on to accuse the Attorney General of a virtual under-the-table annulment of the law, and concludes by wondering if the "take it easy" approach is a result of instructions from President Johnson and represents a new trend in the Democratic Party.

There is no question that Title VI of the Civil Rights Law, giving federal agencies the right to cut off funds when that law is violated, is a major weapon against Jim Crow in the nation's arsenal. It should be used now, and used effectively. The time of waiting for voluntary compliance is long past.

Put federal registrars in each one of the 364 Southern counties covered by the Voter Registration Law until every single Negro citizen who wishes to register has the opportunity to do so. Then protect the integrity of the polls on election day.

Couple these things with an all-sided attack on the organized terror, and many healthy beginnings of Negro-white unity in the labor movement, the churches in politics, and other spheres can blossom out and end the false barriers that are keeping the South from catching up with the rest of the country.

## Katzenbach's Silence

THE ATROCTIES against the Negro people continue unabated in the South, but President Johnson and his attorney general, Nicholas Katzenbach, remain silent.

• In Hattiesburg, Miss., Vernon Dahmer, 56-year-old civil rights leader, died Jan. 10 of burns inflicted by white supremacists in a fire bomb attack.

• In Tuskegee, Ala., Samuel Younge, Jr., 22-year-old college student, was shot to death by a white gas station owner on Jan. 4.

• In Birmingham, Negro schoolchildren were clubbed and kicked by police for seeking voting rights for their parents under the U.S. Constitution.

President Johnson and Attorney General Katzenbach have the power to punish the perpetrators of these vile crimes against the Negro people and to guarantee that such crimes are not repeated. The Johnson administration is too busy sending young American GIs to Vietnam to kill and be killed to concern itself about the horrors of the Negro people's life in the South.

Every American concerned about his nation's existence should write the President demanding that he use his authority immediately to halt the terror in the South and assure the Negro people the protection of their lives and property.

CLIPPING FILE

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DATED

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If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:  
Date                  Date of Report 1/25/66  
Dictated                  to                   
Transcribed                  Date(s) of activity January, 1966  
Authenticated by Informant 1/26/66

Brief description of activity or material  
DIRECTIVES TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS  
ON LITERATURE AT THE NC MEETING 1/15-17/66, File where original is located if not attached  
New York City.

b7D

Remarks: This information was included in Miami LHM to Bureau and New York dated 2/4/66, under caption CPUSA & ORGANIZATION.

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1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)  
1 - 100- (CPUSA POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)  
✓ 1 - 100-153735 (COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS)  
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1 - 100-12464 (CPUSA Organization)  
1 - 100-12076 (George Meyers)
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1 - MIAMI

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DIRECTIVES TO NC MEMBERS ON LITERATURE

In addition to the many tasks given the NC members and district leaders to arrange the convention and launch the new Draft program, they were directed to take immediate steps to order and have circulated in large quantities the following:

1. The recent pamphlet by Gus Hall
2. The present report of Hall which will be prepared as a pamphlet.
3. A pamphlet by Jackson, consisting of two articles one attacking Rev Wilkins of NAACP, the other on the matter of [redacted] being expelled from the Georgia Legislature.
4. A pamphlet by George Meyers, consisting of two articles being published on southern conditions.
5. The pamphlet "Rights" Oct-Nov issued by Emergency Civil Liberties Union, bvingvavxv titled "Radical Dissent" and containing the speeches of 18 peace, liberal, labor and other representatives at a Constitution Day Sit-In.
6. Two publications for use among trade unionists. A pamphlet by [redacted] "Journey To The Soviet Trade Unions"; and another, "LABOR TODAY" published in Detroit. This is a "progressive" labor publication in which the CP has a big interest.

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Dear Comrades:

Gus Hall Pamphlet  
"Communism, Mankind's Bright Horizon"

Gus Hall's speech to the Humanities Society of Columbia University is being printed for wide distribution. It appeared in The Worker of January 2nd, under the title "The Greatest Transition for Mankind".

The pamphlet, as you can see, discusses Vietnam in relation to the basic issues of self-determination and independence, and in the context of Capitalism. It attacks sharply anti-Communism and explains the Communist position on the basic issues. It will be helpful to the fight to end the aggression in Vietnam and to deepen the understanding and class consciousness of the people.

The pamphlet will be 16 pages, with the same format as "The Eleventh Hour" (4" x 8 3/4") and will fit into #10 envelopes.

The first printing, by New Outlook will be 20,000 at 15¢; but organizations will get it for 5¢, making possible a mass distribution.

Please order from New Outlook Publishers and Distributors, 32 Union Square E. New York 10003 send cash with the order. Yours  
Danny

**File—Serial Charge Out**  
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

448-16-83475-1 GPO

File	<u>100</u>	Case No.	<u>153735</u>	Last Serial	Date	<u>5/23/77</u>
Class.					Pending	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Closed
Serial No.	Description of Serial				Date Charged	
<u>2/32</u>	Serial sent to Bureau, per					
<u>2/33</u>	Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,					
	titled; Bernard S. Lee v.					
	Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.					
BuFile 62-117194d						

## Section #23

**Employee**

RECHARGE

Date \_\_\_\_\_

To \_\_\_\_\_ From \_\_\_\_\_

Initials of  
Clerk { \_\_\_\_\_  
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Date Charged

**Employee**

**Location**

File—Serial Charge Out  
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83473-1 GPO

File 100 Case No. 153735 Dte. 5/23/77  
Class.  Pending  Closed  
Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged  
2130 Serial sent to Bureau, per \_\_\_\_\_  
2131 Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,  
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.  
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.  
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date \_\_\_\_\_

To \_\_\_\_\_ From: \_\_\_\_\_

Initials of Clerk {  
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Employee \_\_\_\_\_

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Date of Report

1/24/66

Transcribed \_\_\_\_\_

Date(s) of activity

Authenticated  
by Informant 1/26/66

1/15-20/66

## Brief description of activity or material

A General Summary Report on the Meeting of  
the National Committee of the CPUSA and  
differences among the CPUSA leadership.

File where original is located if not attached b7D

Remarks: Dissemination of this information should be carefully paraphrased to avoid compromising this informant. Portions of this memo were included in Miami LHM dated 2/4/66, under CPUSA ORGANIZATION caption and a separate letter prepared on info on pages 20 & 21 & sent to Bureau and appropriate field offices covering areas described.

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- 1 - 100-80641 (CPUSA ORG.)
- 1 - 100-86624 (CPUSA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- 1 - 100- (CPUSA MEMBERSHIP)
- 1 - 100-89691 (CPUSA DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION)
- 1 - 100-80644 (CPUSA YOUTH MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-74560 (CPUSA FUNDS)
- 1 - 100-81675 (CPUSA PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
- ① - 100-153735 (CIRM)
- 1 - 100-89590 (CPUSA STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
- 1 - 100-26603 (CPUSA NYD)
- 1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- 1 - 100-13472 (GIL GREEN)
- 1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER)
- 1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)
- 1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
- 1 - 100-44781 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-117708 [redacted]
- 1 - 100-128255 (DANNY RUBIN)
- 1 - 100- (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
- 1 - 97-169 (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 1 - 100- (JOHN ABT)

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MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

The National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. convened in New York City the three full days of January 15-16-17, 1966. The sessions were usually from 8 and 9 AM. until around 6 P.M. Two of the three evenings were occupied with conferences and gatherings on specific subjects and involving specific people active in such areas.

Though this was a ~~specific~~ meeting of the National Committee and all present understood ~~this~~ it as such, the gathering was designated as a "National Perspectives Conference". This was possibly due to some kind of legal advice and caution stemming from the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court which invalidated a section of the McCarran Anti-Subversive Act affecting the Communist Party.

The Conference was arranged and held with cognizance of certain legal matters. This is seen in the announcement by Henry Winston on opening of the meeting that John Abt, General Counsel of the Party, was invited to sit with the Conference during its duration for the purpose of rendering whatever legal advice might be needed on any matter.

Also prior to and following the Conference a stream of Committee and Commission meetings, and a large number of individual appointments and discussions were held with various district and State leaders and others active in specific areas of "mass work."

Thus, on January 14-15 the National Board and Secretariat of the National Committee held marathon meetings trying to polish up or resolve differences over the Resolution to be submitted to the Conference; of clarifying and agreeing to certain subjects and formulations in Hall's report to the Conference; and to agree on general decisions and guidelines for the National Convention preparations, financial drive, of launching the campaign around the new Draft Program, and other problems.

These sessions were day-long and extended into the evenings and were often inconclusive (and many proposals came before the general conference in inconclusive form) primarily due to a considerable confusion over some changes of policy and its emphasis, but also because of an evident disagreement and opposition to various proposals by some of the party leadership. Underlying everything a definite factionalism among segments of the national leadership was very obvious.

Following the Conference, on January 18-19 (and a few on the 20th) a number of Commissions and discussions took place. Among them was that of the National Negro Commission, National Youth Commission, Latin-American Commission, etc. Prior to this, on the evening of January 15th, a four-hour meeting was held consisting of all District and State Organizers and their organizational secretaries. This conference was intended to specifically implement the tasks and responsibilities facing the Party in form of a precise examination of how it stands in the peace movement per locality; of the organizational and financial steps required to prepare the National Convention: of the steps needed in launching

a national campaign and big noise around the new Draft program; and of quotas and responsibilities for the financial campaigns which will exceed some \$300,000 by mid-summer. Elsewhere in this report reference will be made to the meetings and decisions of various of these Conferences.

This National Committee meeting was attended by close to 100 people. An attendance list of approximately 85 has already been submitted earlier. Excepting Missouri, there were representatives from every State and District where the Party has any kind of organization. In effect its quality was that of a small, working National Convention. Although designated as a "Political Perspectives" gathering, which in Party terms would mean a generalized gabfest concerning "issues" and "orientation", its actual character was that of a policy meeting of the National Committee, with only National Committee members voting (when policy votes were taken), but including a large circle of other leaders and activists to be directly informed and mobilized to carry out the policies and campaigns adopted at this time.

Therefore, the essential purpose of this meeting of the National Committee was to very greatly refurbish its policies and tactics to more correspond, or keep apace with, recent fast-running changes in the national and international situation, <sup>to avoid</sup> ~~else suffer~~ an isolation from fast moving events and lose out, leadership-wise, to other and newer forces now appearing on the scene, and especially those forces and trends which reflect, represent or outrightly champion a more vigorous, militant and revolutionary posture--especially the pro-Chinese orientated elements.

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Any retention or further pursuance of the line and policy which CP USA has followed the past several years, which in all its aspects was the Khruschev line of co-existence, peaceful transition to socialism, and for a detente and amicable relationship with the United States, would result in its total loss of any leadership of the radical forces; and even more so than at present, have it identified as being "soft" on imperialism and an appendage to and apologist of the imperialist forces.

Since the Hall leadership of CP USA is most closely identified with the former Khruschev, and present Kosygin-Brezhnev leadership of CP USSR, its every policy position hitherto has fully accorded with that of the CP USSR. Any change or modification in the outlook and "orientation" of Hall and the CP USA leadership cannot be ascribed to any independent judgement or appraisal of conditions, but will reflect and correspond to that of the Soviet leadership.

It is from this viewpoint and yardstick that the modifications of policy or changed stress on national and international questions taken by this meeting of the CP USA leadership must be judged.

To do <sup>this</sup>, and considering the line and policy of CP USA until now (attitude to President Johnson, attitude to George Meany and the trade union leadership, attitude on the question of war, Viet Nam, etc) it is quite obvious that this meeting of the National Committee reflected a very great hardening of line, of establishing a most sharp and hostile attitude and of a more militant and revolutionary type than that pursued hitherto.

Whether this represents a true reflection of the present actual policies of the USSR may be left to speculation or better judgements. But if CP USA is any mirror of changes in the outlook and policies of the leadership of the USSR, the nature of the decisions of this National Committee meeting would so verify it.

The essential content of these NC decisions on a number of main contentious questions among Communists, bring CP USA much closer to the Chinese position on these matters. This does not infer that the CP USA leadership now becomes pro-Chinese and anti-Soviet, but rather that the Soviet leadership is shifting in face of an obvious growth of pro-Chinese influence in world Communist circles, and CP USA follows a tactical shift of the Russians.

Recent changes in the international situation (as viewed from Communist eyes) has expanded the national liberation struggles, has greatly widened the anti-imperialist battles, has aroused larger elements of nationalist and anti-United States sentiments, has tended to discredit the USSR, Tito, and other "revisionist" elements in the world communist movement; and has, undeniably, brought about in the eyes of these elements a greater respect for and belief in the correctness of the arguments and policies of the Chinese Communist Party.

The war in Viet Nam has served to create many of the new changes which confront the world communist movement. This in turn has resulted in creation of a world anti-USA peace movement often outside of and apart from the work of the Communist Parties. This entire situation places the

position of the Soviet Union (<sup>and so</sup> interpreted by many) as being "soft" on imperialism, <sup>as</sup> actually being opposed to the liberational war of the Viet Liberation Front, of desiring peace at any cost and even at expense of the national wars of small nations <sup>because</sup> in consequence of their own specific Russian interests.

The role of the USSR in seeking ways to end the war in Viet Nam for fear <sup>that</sup> such wars may engender world wars is interpreted as collusion with the aggressors, of hostility to national wars, of uniting with imperialism. From all this the Chinese, who promulgate these attacks, win ground in many radical quarters.

The recent Tri-Continental Congress of Asia-Africa-Latin America in Havana, with delegates from nearly 100 nations (including 50 of the newly independent) and some 500 delegates from throughout the world, was considered a distinct ideological and political victory for the Chinese and a great weakening of the established Soviet position.

At this conference the hard line speeches and proposals of the Chinese, Cuban, North Viet, North Korean, and Latin American guerrilla delegations overwhelmed the <sup>more moderate</sup> proposals of the Soviet delegation.

These changes in the international situation, all of which may hurriedly be characterized as "creating mass political conditions of the highest objective kind" in favor of militant and revolutionary postures and policies, also reflect the situation in the United States.

The deepening crisis in Viet Nam and the uncertainties of thousands of Americans concerning it; the rise of a

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large national peace movement which embraces large and important segments of the American people (clergy, students, Negroes, scientists, professionals); the many demonstrations, peace marches, burning of draft cards, several cases of self-immolation, etc, has brought about a great mass movement which churns and boils.

These events have grown up and spread not <sup>primarily</sup> in consequence of CP USA efforts or policies but largely apart from it. To grasp and lead and capitalize this upsurge cannot be achieved by the CP USA on <sup>the</sup> basis of existing attitudes and policies, which this upsurge largely rejects, is not impressed with, or actually scoffs at, <sup>as conservative, "fuddy-duddy"</sup> or <sup>or of a fearfulness of the enemy."</sup>

Consequently, together with the first conclusion that for similar and greater reasons the USSR must take on a more militant stance to contest growing pro-Chinese leadership on a world scale, the CP USA ~~failures to~~ <sup>must</sup> modify its policies, tactics and slogans to assume a more militant, more anti-imperialist stance or else face the possibility of playing no role or excercising no important leadership of mass movements which grow steadily.

It is from the viewpoint of the foregoing two conclusions that you should examine and assess the Political Resolution presented to this Conference; examine and assess the report rendered by Gus Hall; and when it appears, to examine and assess the Draft Program.

You will observe in this Resolution and Hall Report terminology, appraisals, formulations, etc, which have not appeared in the CP USA for a long time. The attack against American imperialism, against the Administration and President Johnson; against the American policies vis a vis Viet Nam

the new and accentuated policy of hostility and opposition to Meany and the "reactionary" trade Union leadership (now tagged as the "Meany [redacted] pro-war axis") are reflective of the new, more militant and revolutionary line which is substituted for the hitherto existing policy. As is known the old line was a "positive" view to the Administration and often an apology for its actions; a line of support stretching from Eisenhower, to Kennedy, to Johnson as "desiring peace", etc; a line of "positive approach" to the trade union leadership and stern reprimand to any member who attacked ~~them~~ <sup>it</sup>.

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On this latter matter, Hall actually counseled the Conference to generate within the trade unions "groups, fractions, caucuses, I dont care what you call them." This is a return to the long-forgotten ~~of~~ rank and file oppositional activities and inner-caucuses to make life miserable for union officials unless they embrace the programs dictated by Communists.

The new, hard line is also indicated by an unexpected attack against Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, now placed on a par with Meany as a "misleader." Speeches at this Conference followed the line of the editorial in the WORKER a few days before (January 11) and which was a carefully prepared statement of policy position. "Roy Wilkins is to the Negro freedom movement what George Meany is to the labor movement (who) mislead and weaken the great organizations they head when they raise their voices in anger against the crusaders for peace and take the side of the war hawks."

The hard line is also indicated by the content of the two articles prepared for the WORKER by George Meyers which deal with southern conditions and problems. These lay out a severe attack against the Administration, and in terminology not used by CP USA for a long time.

I append separately a 17-page Political resolution which was handed each member of the National Committee to read but then obliged to return to the Secretariat. The copies were issued with a number to whom given and carefully checked as having been returned. In Party terms it is considered a classified document. NC members were permitted to read it and make notes but not permitted to retain it.

A review and study of this resolution will show the ~~most sharp~~<sup>est</sup> change in <sup>the</sup> position of the CPUSA on questions of war and peace, on the domestic situation, attitude to Administration, relations with other forces, and its suggested sharp tactical changes. The very quality of the terminology expresses the political content of the new, hardened line:

"...The Johnson Administration has resorted to a policy of increased aggression...the rapacity and aggressiveness of U S imperialism remains undiminished...the naked aggression against Viet Nam and armed invasion of the Dominican Republic have catapulted the world into a new crisis. These aggressive acts are not the result of rash decisions taken on the spur of the moment. They are the product of a policy of imperialist aggression, a policy which seeks to stop the clock of history by armed might, to stem the world-wide tide of revolution...It is a doctrine of mass murder and pillage, of the preservation and extension of a system of national exploitation and oppression, all for the enrichment of a handful of giant U S corporations."

The essence of this report is to signalize a new and very sharp change in the orientation, outlook, policies.

attitudes, slogans, tactics, group and united front relationships, methods of mass work, methods of inner activities.

The foregoing quotation of the outlook is intended to now be the "approach" and the "line." It will be represented as more militant, more revolutionary. It is designed to capitalize upon the great social and political ferment, to try set itself at head of the ferment and movements, to now make a most serious effort to break its long isolation from mass movements, to try<sup>to</sup> abandon the many old-fashioned and other-days sectarian ways of doing things, and thus expand its organizational base and membership, and weld around itself a large, periphal following.

The Party leadership deems that present conditions are such that if daring steps are taken it can break its shell, grow into a mass organization, and come to be a recognized political and social force in the nation.

Underlying all thinking is the effect and influence of the recent Supreme Court decision on the McCarran Act; of breaking down the restrictions denying Communists from being trade union officials (the Archie Brown case); the somewhat legalization of the right to be a Communist working in industry (the Seattle shipyard case); the invalidation of passport restrictions; the "constant acceptance" of Communists in the mass movement (as Arnold Johnson becoming an official part of some united front peace groups); Taken together with the peace movement upsurge and trends where the Civil Rights movement is tending to meld with the peace movement [redacted] in peace movement, "the Bond case in

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Georgia Legislature, the public statements of the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee on Viet Nam, etc) as well as "stirrings" in the labor movement, and the continuation of the youth and student movement--the Party leadership believes now is the time to "get to it" (Hall's expression) and set about to renew and regenerate the Communist Party in the U S.

It should be noted here that at this Conference there existed a considerable enthusiasm and conviction that now is the time for the Party to move and move fast. All reports, speeches, resolutions and decisions taken at the meeting was permeated with this conviction and feeling. In this respect the NC meeting was strikingly different from those held in the past several years. Those were of a generally routine, "holding operation" type which talked a lot but left everybody as glum as when they arrived. Afterward nothing much happened and things plodded until the next conference. This present conference was vastly different. While it remains to be seen how much of this new conviction and enthusiasm will translate into accomplishment, it must be noted that the nature of its decisions and specific directives will "taste good" to the average Party member who will believe he now has the "tools" with which to make gains.

It is the belief of the Party leadership that the big break can be made by a development of a three-pronged campaign. This campaign is of a type which is intended to involve every member and supporter of the Party not, as up to now alone and isolated and in an "inner" fashion, but part of

and closely allied to movements and people who are active in various struggles: the peace movement and every step possible to whip up activity around the Viet Nam situation; an effort to involve an extensive public interest in the Communists by means of issuance and popularizing its Draft Program; and a big campaign to focus a greater interest and following by means of a large, public National Convention starting June 18th with a hoped-for 1000 people attending.

The internal situation within the leadership deserves a mention. The aforementioned Political Resolution was recalled because there is not agreement by the leadership on various subjects. The new Draft Program ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> already completed ~~in~~ November but will not be issued until perhaps Feburary 15th. Again, the cause is disagreement on a number of propositions on which the headquarters' leadership are meeting constantly. The swift international changes which obliged a swift change or modification of policy made a number of propositions in the Draft Program and Resolution contradictory and out-of-date.

The working Committee on the Draft Program is Gil Green, Hy Lumer and Al Richmond (who is doing the actual journalistic work.) Once this Committee formulates a matter for the Draft Program (resulting from a previous discussion by the leadership) they must junk it because the leadership starts re-arguing the matter.

Within the operative National leadership there are distinct basic differences and even factional maneuvering. These differences are not of a pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese type. With the death of Ben Davis the "leftist" trend in the top leadership disappeared.

Within the leadership there does not show any definite pro-Chinese viewpoint. This sentiment is, however, quite extensive among the old-guard rank and file Party members down below.

The differences presently within the leadership might be characterized as Hall, Jackson, Lumer, etc, reflecting and still tied to the old Khruschev and now CP USSR "revisionist" line; and on the other hand, a group of leaders as Healy, Lima, Green, etc, who are more strongly revisionist than the former think it correct to ~~be~~. These people represent the thinking and outlook of the old Gates crowd, and have budged little from their position over the years. They constitute a constant body of "friendly" criticism and pressure against Hall, who is often forced to bend to their views. This group was strengthened (until recently) by Ben Davis and Bob Thompson who, though not of their persuasion at all, were factional and political opponents of Hall for other reasons. Thompson was rapidly becoming the accepted head of the general anti-Hall group until his recent death.

At present Gil Green is assuming a more aggressive role in opposition to Hall. Since his return to full activity two years ago Green, at the outset, expressed definite views contrary to the Hall line and, as he said, "put my feet too much in my mouth." These views of Green were of a distinct Rightist (revisionist) type. During this time Hall found it relatively easy to underrate Green, to keep him floating around without any definite and responsible position of work and responsibility and thus denied Green

any important base of leadership from which to operate.

When Green commenced to establish a base in Chicago, Hall maneuvered to bring him to the national center, but he was given only temporary assignments and left at loose ends. From this insecure position Green periodically ventured sharp criticisms of Hall's general line and on many specific issues, but was overwhelmed by Hall with the loud support of Stachel, Jackson, and in a lesser way, <sup>of</sup> Lumer.

However, this has changed. The death of Thompson required the appointment of one of the top national leaders to head the New York State organization. Green was appointed mainly by default, and despite the desires of Hall.

Hall for a long time strongly desired to "clean out" the New York state set-up which has perpetually been a base of hostility to him. Prior to the 1959 Convention this State set-up was the bastion of the "leftists" under Ben Davis. After Davis, Thompson took over which was no consolation to Hall because Thompson, though not a leftist and not considered a "revisionist" was a competitor of Hall on general leadership principles. Thompson took over the large anti-Hall base and continued as a thorn to Hall until his recent death. During all this time there existed the strongest hostility and opposition between the "third and second floors" (State and National set-ups of the national headquarters.) These hostilities broke into the open very frequently.

With demise of Thompson, Hall again tried to establish a New York state setup which would once and for all eliminate New York, the second largest state Party organizat-

Green could not be denied this post because of the many casualties suffered by the leadership in the past several years [redacted] Davis, Thompson, Stachel, Perry, [redacted] had reduced the candidates qualified for it; and because Green was a recognized national leader and had twenty-five years ago already been the New York state head and when leaving for prison in the 150's had ~~had~~ a very good reputation among party members.

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Consequently, Green took over and with his strongly evident "rightist" and "revisionist" thinking found a strong political and organizational base from which he could be independent of Hall and even afford to assume a leading and open opposition to him. As Green is, in Party terms, highly sensitive to "political questions", is looked upon as something of a theoretician, is a good writer, excellent speaker and good "mixer", he often unwittingly shows up Hall in debate, discussions and <sup>initiating</sup> ~~advancement~~ of matters to be acted upon.

To weaken Hall further, the death of Stachel deprives him of his leading hatchetman. To make matters still worse for him his other staunch hatchetman, Jackson, is now released as Editor of the WORKER and active personality in the daily operative leadership. What Jackson's future assignments will be, or the actual reason for his release from the paper is not presently fully known. It is clear, however, he will not play the same role in the active leadership as a daily polemical figure supporting Hall at every step.

Green seems to have taken courage from all this and now openly appears ~~as~~ critical of Hall. In Green's speech to this NC meeting his preface remarks were that he [redacted]

endorses the Hall report "which is, as you know, something new for me, as it is known I have had strong disagreements with Gus on many questions." In stating this Green left the distinct impression that he could endorse the Hall report simply because Hall had to concede to Green the matters which had held them apart.

The day after the NC meeting adjourned this internal situation boiled over again. It was ~~over~~, as Hall said "a fight over a corpse." Earlier Hall and others had suggested that Mrs. Thompson take steps to investigate the possibility of Thompson being interred in Arlington National Cemetery with all military honors. If accepted the Party would try <sup>to</sup> get some publicity out of the matter wherein a nationally known Communist leader is buried in Arlington as a military hero.

The negotiations with the Veteran's Administration (or Arlington authorities) were successful. Mrs. Thompson was informed the internment would be on January 21 and asked if the chapel (for ceremonies) and honor guard and rifle tribute were requested. Mrs. Hall declined the chapel, rifle tribute and decided upon a most private ceremony to involve only herself, Gil Green, [redacted] and Atty. [redacted] <sup>There were to be</sup> No speeches, no delegations, no ceremonies and, ostensibly no party propaganda or involvement in the affair.

When news of this was conveyed to Hall by Green, Hall was in a meeting with Winston, Lumer and [redacted] Hall became more furious than ever known <sup>before</sup> to be. He denounced it as a miserable factional thing. He granted that a [redacted]

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widow's wishes should be observed but in this case it is a pure and simple factional attack "against the party leadership" (i.e., himself) and utilization of a funeral to deny the Party any role or identity. He called attention to the composition of the "delegation" as containing no Negro, no party representative, and consisting solely of "a factional orientation." He pointed out that Thompson was in the first place not only a "husband" but a national and international Party leader; that eliminating the Party from the services was befouling Thompson's whole life under guise of "widow's wishes." He proposed an immediate meeting with Green and the others to "get the straight" of this "unheard" of thing and said he would insist that the Party be openly represented, that perhaps Winston should make plans to attend, notwithstanding what Green or [redacted] would say.

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(How this matter all turned out is not further known, and is related in the context of describing the sharp internal situation and its frequent public explosion over the most big or little things.)

The described interplay of conflicting political ideologies and petty power-struggles constantly influence the campaigns, the policies, the policy documents of the national leadership. This more than anything explains the tugs, pulls and constant delays over issuance of the DRAFT PROGRAM which has been a project dragging for nearly two years. It also explains the withdrawal of the Political Resolution which is hereby attached for your study.

It also explains why this meeting of the NC was called.

From the beginning of his tenure in 1959 Hall has found it uncomfortable and unworkable to try <sup>to</sup> make something <sup>out</sup> of a leadership consisting of the old leadership cadre. He has looked on most of them as passe, beyond their time, incompetent, living in dreams of the past, and removed from the ~~realities~~ of present day life and realities. He has always looked in the direction of eliminating most of them and creating a new cadre base of leadership. This explains his aggressive pressure to "get onto" the youth work, to develop and draw in new cadres, to infuse the leadership in districts and national center with new people, younger people. He has often been blockaded in this by attitudes of self-preservation and efforts of those whom he has marked for removal to hang on and enjoy their place in the leadership.

The assumption of leadership in New York by Green ~~who is~~ surrounding himself with all kind of forces who dislike Hall for varied reasons, makes Hall most unhappy and very insecure. Nowadays Hall reacts to even the simplest question by first examining its possible factional and political aspect, <sup>the point of</sup> and almost to ~~it being~~ a psychosis.

Hall demanded this meeting of the NC and demanded it be of such large attendance. His opponents always like to work best in small and narrow committees while Hall believes he is always <sup>far</sup> best off in large groups and conferences where the opponents must act carefully. It is said that Hall had considerable difficulty getting agreement to have the NC meet in the first place, and greater difficulty in his demand that it be of such large size. He overcame all types of objections about security, recklessness, financial extravagance, and no necessity because a small working

gathering will be more productive than a "mass meeting."

However, Hall fully utilized the "new, big changes" as warranting a "big leap forward now--or not at all" to try <sup>to</sup> make a long overdue shift in the life and status of the Party. The fortuitous changes in national and international developments, which permitted the outlining of a more militant and aggressive Communist Party policy, were most helpful to Hall in his policy struggle and contest with internal opponents.

To the extent the policies and decisions of this NC meeting are successfully prosecuted, to that extent Hall will be immeasurably strengthened in his leadership and a weakening of the internal opposition. Because to that extent many new members are expected; newer and younger people are expected to be inducted into the leadership from top to bottom levels; it is expected that the Party and members will be engaged in movements and struggles and associated with non-party masses which creates a poor atmosphere for those ~~not in~~ <sup>outside of</sup> such movements <sup>and only</sup> interested in internal hair-splitting.

In this sense, the NC meeting was a considerable political victory for Hall. It may therefore be expected that the decisions and outlooks of the NC meeting will be aggressively pushed by Hall, and the next six months should witness an unusual scurry of efforts and activities by the Party.

It should also be noted that, contrary to former gatherings of this kind, there existed evidence that the Party has grown and his growing in the recent period. This was reflected in a number of speeches from districts as to their

activities and experiences. It was also shown in the quality of attendance. Of the approximate 100 people attending this meeting, roughly one-third could be judged as being under 30 years of age--most in <sup>the</sup> mid-twenties. Formerly if five of 100 were under 50 <sup>years</sup> it would be exceptional. Also, in and around Party gatherings, offices and areas of activities there is observable an ever-growing number of much younger people than the Party has been accustomed to seeing.

While some of this growth has taken place as result of consistent and planned work in certain areas, ~~also~~ very much has occurred where ~~new~~ people just start out "looking for the Party". Mickey Lima in his speech said he now has four applications in his pocket but doesn't know what to do with them! He does not want to place them in existing Clubs where they will be soured and disillusioned but has no new, appropriate setup to accomodate the influx of new, fresh people.

The National office, according to Hall, continues to receive a large amount of mail being inquiries, requests for information and literature. <sup>through the mail</sup> He also stated that many people are now speaking to him about joining the party. He vaguely referred to an "important national mass leader in the Civil Rights movement, once with us but <sup>who</sup> left, but who has worked with us cooperatively in some national struggles, now asks about the advisability of his joining the Party." (A pure speculation suggests Bayard Rustin might be the one he was speaking of, as Rustin fits this category.)

Some organizational advance may be expected also because, for the first time in some years, there was held a number of specific organizational meetings and discussions

<sup>we're</sup> ~~we've~~ ~~been~~ ~~selected~~ and ~~selected~~

In addition, some definite points of concentration have been selected. In Chicago, which has limped along for so long with the ill [redacted] overburdened, plans are now underway to withdraw Jack Kling from Freiheit-Jewish work to ~~and~~ become an open district functionary. Also Lou Diskin, while continuing <sup>to</sup> operate the Party book store, will become an active Party district functionary. Finally, [redacted]  
 [redacted] of Philadelphia is being transferred to Chicago <sup>probably</sup> to ~~and~~ function as organizational secretary.

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Discussion was heard of plans to ~~open up~~ <sup>create</sup> several open Party headquarters in cities where they were long abandoned, and to have as many districts as possible have an "open, Communist spokesman." Chicago, Cleveland, Newark and Philadelphia are suggested as being first.

According to Rubin ("organizational Secretary) the Party has need of a great amount of people for many responsible positions in districts but cannot as yet find them. He mentioned that Seattle now will need an open spokesman as

[redacted] is returning to work as a longshoreman to take advantage of a pro-communist ruling made recently; that an open leader is needed in Boston; <sup>and</sup> particularly in Atlanta and Birmingham, which are the two southern concentration points, ~~of getting a start~~.

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The foregoing is intended as a general review of the National Committee meeting and the main considerations which underlie its discussions and decisions. It is also intended as a suggestion as how to review and assess the Political Resolution, Hall's Report, Hall's Summary talk, and other documents and speeches made at the meeting.

I append to this report the Political Resolution, notes on the report made by Hall, notes on the summary talk by Hall, and individual reports on a number of specific questions, discussions, and sub-meetings which occurred. All of these should be considered as a whole in order to obtain an overall picture of this meeting of the National Committee.

Between now and the end of June--according to the decisions of this NC meeting--the Party will strive to focus intense activity and attention on the following:

1. Around the Viet Nam war in all its aspects; all possible activities within the existing non-CP peace movements and committees, as well as trying to create still others more directly influenced by the C.P. An effort to create about 100 new committees "however small" between now and October 15-16. A great attention to the March 25-26 peace demonstrations. A great effort to have scores of Party-influenced delegates and committees present at the April meeting of the National Coordinating Committee.

An effort to squeeze the [ ]-Aptheker-[ ] trip to Hanoi for all it is worth in propaganda. An effort to latch onto and push higher the matters arising from the exclusion of

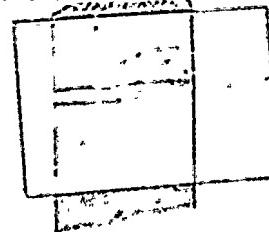
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[ ] in the Georgia Legislature as a means of reaching Negroes and other peace supporters.

2. Efforts to launch a national campaign around the issuance of the Draft Program (see separate report).

3. An effort to break the shell of isolation and become a public force by swinging a large, national convention to embrace 1000 people, in June. (See separate report)

4. To undertake an aggressive national campaign to raise near to \$300,000 between now and June.
5. To undertake a systematic national effort to organizationally/reestablish the Party by campaigns to recruit members, to staff district set-ups, to find cadres for selected concentration areas, to open up public headquarters wherever possible, and finally to make a break by running a number of open Communist candidates for public office, as well as Communists running masked as the candidates of other parties and electoral mechanisms.



1/27/66

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ( 61-8077)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-17517)

GUS HALL  
IS-C; ISA OF 1950  
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CARE MUST BE EXERCISED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are four copies of an informant's statement dated 1/26/66 containing information orally furnished on 1/26/66 by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HAMBEN. This information was reduced to writing on 1/27/66 and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9494.

4-Bureau (Enc. 10)(RM)  
(1 - 100-442529 (CIRM)

3-Mobile (RM)

(1 - 100- (GUS HALL)  
(1 - 100- (CIRM)

(1 - 100- (Public Appearance of CP, USA Leaders)

3-New York (RM)

(1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)  
(1 - 100-153735 (CIRM)

(1 - 100- (Public Appearance of CP, USA Leaders)

2-Chicago

(1 - A)134-46-9494)

RWH:MDW

(12)

100-1753735-2136

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CG 100-17517

In addition, there are enclosed herewith for the Bureau the original and five copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "GUS HALL; INTERNAL SECURITY - C" relating to the matter set forth in the enclosed informant's statement since the Bureau may desire to disseminate this information to the Department of Justice.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" inasmuch as it sets forth information from a source whose continuing future effectiveness could be jeopardized if such information was disclosed.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

January 26, 1966

It has been learned that GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), is now scheduled to make a public appearance at the Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, on February 11, 1966. HALL has twice postponed this appearance and actually would like to have "backed out" completely from the commitment. However, HALL received a telephone call on this matter from Tuskegee and the caller threatened to charge him with "cold feet" unless he appeared.

Also, it has been learned that there is consideration being given to advising the Attorney General of HALL's pending trip to Tuskegee together with a demand that it is expected protection will be given him because of all the murders in the South without solution to one of these crimes. As of the early part of the week of January 23, 1966, the thinking among the leadership of the CP, USA was that an official letter should be sent to the United States Department of Justice; however, it would not be made public.

SAC, CHICAGO (61-867)

1/28/66

SA RICHARD W. HANSEN

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
IS-C, ISA OF 1950  
(OO:CG)

EXTREME CARE MUST BE EXERCISED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

The information appearing on the attached page was orally furnished on January 26, 1966, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on January 28, 1966, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9497.

The information set forth on the attached page has been previously incorporated in a separate communication to the Bureau and, therefore, no additional dissemination to the Bureau is necessary.

- ⑤ - New York (RM)  
(1 - 100- (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
(1 - 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)  
(1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)  
(1 - 100-153735 (CIRM)  
(1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)  
3 - Philadelphia (RM)  
(1 - 100- (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)  
(1 - 100- (CIRM)  
(1 - 100- (Public Appearance of CP, USA Leaders)  
5 - Chicago  
(1 - A)134-46-9497  
(1 - 100-41324 (CIRM)  
(1 - 100-38841 (Public Appearance of CP, USA Leaders)  
(1 - 100-18961 (CP, Illinois District - International Relation

RWH:MDW  
(13)

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FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]*

January 26, 1966

In conversation with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, leading functionary of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois and head of the National Negro Commission of the CP, USA, held in New York City on January 22, 1966, that individual indicated that he was uncertain when he would be returning to Chicago but it would be sometime in early February, 1966. He noted he was scheduled to be in Canada for lectures at some university during the week of January 23, 1966. Subsequently, it was learned that LIGHTFOOT did, in fact, depart New York City by train at 7:30 p.m., January 23, 1966, for Canada and that he expected to be back in New York by the middle of that week. When he did return to New York, LIGHTFOOT planned to move in with HENRY WINSTON and stay there during the remainder of his New York visit. Previously, LIGHTFOOT had stayed at the residence of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON for the past several weeks.

In addition, it has been learned that when LIGHTFOOT returns to New York from Canada, he will then proceed to Philadelphia where he is scheduled to participate in a debate with the head of the Philadelphia Negro Bar Association on the subject of whether communists have a place in the Negro freedom movement.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
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No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 1  
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